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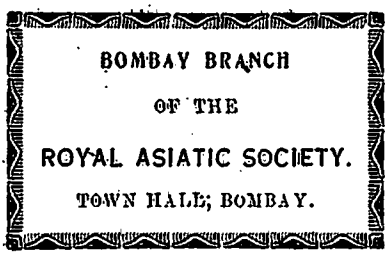

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In one respect the present work will be found to differ considerably from that which I formerly published. As Andrew Melville, besides the active part which he took in the ecclesiastical transactions of his time, was successively at the head of two of our principal colleges, I have entered much more fully into the state of education, and the progress of literature, than I felt myself warranted to do in writing the Life of the Reformer.

James Melville, a nephew of the subject of this memoir, left behind him a *Diary*, or history of his own life and times, extending from 1555 to 1600, in which he has embodied much interesting information concerning his uncle. Several copies of this work are extant in manuscript. I quote the original copy, which is preserved in the Advocates' Library, fairly written with the author's own hand. In the same library is another manuscript, entitled, *History of the Declining Age of the Church of Scotland*, which I am satisfied was also composed by James Melville, and brings down the history of his times from 1600 to 1610. This, with the *Apologetical Narration*, written by William Scot, minister of Cupar, furnishes ample information respecting the conduct of Melville when

called up to London, along with some of his brethren, before the introduction of episcopacy into Scotland.

The greater part of James Melville's Diary has been engrossed by Calderwood in his MS. History, and by Wodrow in his Lives. I have seldom, if ever, referred to the two last of these writers as authorities when it appeared to me that they merely quoted from the first. It may be proper to mention, that, in the first part of this Life, the references are to the copy of Calderwood's MS. belonging to the church of Scotland, but from page seventy-sixth of the second volume I refer to the copy in the Advocates' Library, which it was more convenient for me to consult at the time.

The epistolary correspondence which passed between Melville and his nephew from 1608 to 1613, has been preserved in the Library of the College of Edinburgh. And in the Advocates' Library is a series of letters written by Melville, to a friend at Leyden, from 1612 to 1616. Both these collections are of great value, as throwing light on his character, and on some of the most interesting events of his life.

In giving an account of ecclesiastical transactions, I have, in addition to other sources of intelligence, availed myself of various registers of provincial synods, presbyteries, and kirk-sessions, which contain many facts curious in themselves, and illustrative of the internal history of the church. Several of these ancient records have been deposited in our public libraries; and I was allowed the readiest access to such of them as are in the possession of the courts to which they originally belonged.

My best acknowledgements are due to Thomas Thomson, Esq. for the facilities which he politely afforded me in consulting the public records; and to Sir William Hamilton, Bart. for pointing out to me various documents of great utility.

My inquiries relative to the state of education have in every instance been met with the utmost liberality by the Learned Bodies to which I applied. The account which I have given of the University of St Andrews is chiefly taken from copies of papers and notes kindly furnished me by Dr Lee, Professor of Church History and Divinity in the College of which Melville was formerly Principal. In acknowledging the great obligations I am under to

Dr, Lee, I cannot refrain from expressing my earnest wish that he would favour the public with a history of the literature of Scotland, or at least of the university to which he belongs, for either of which tasks he is eminently qualified by his extensive acquaintance with the subject, and his habits of patient and discriminating research. Could I have obtained assurance of his engaging in such a work, I would have felt little difficulty in resisting a temptation which has proved too powerful for me, and has led me into literary details, particularly in the first volume, which may appear but remotely connected with the immediate object of my undertaking.

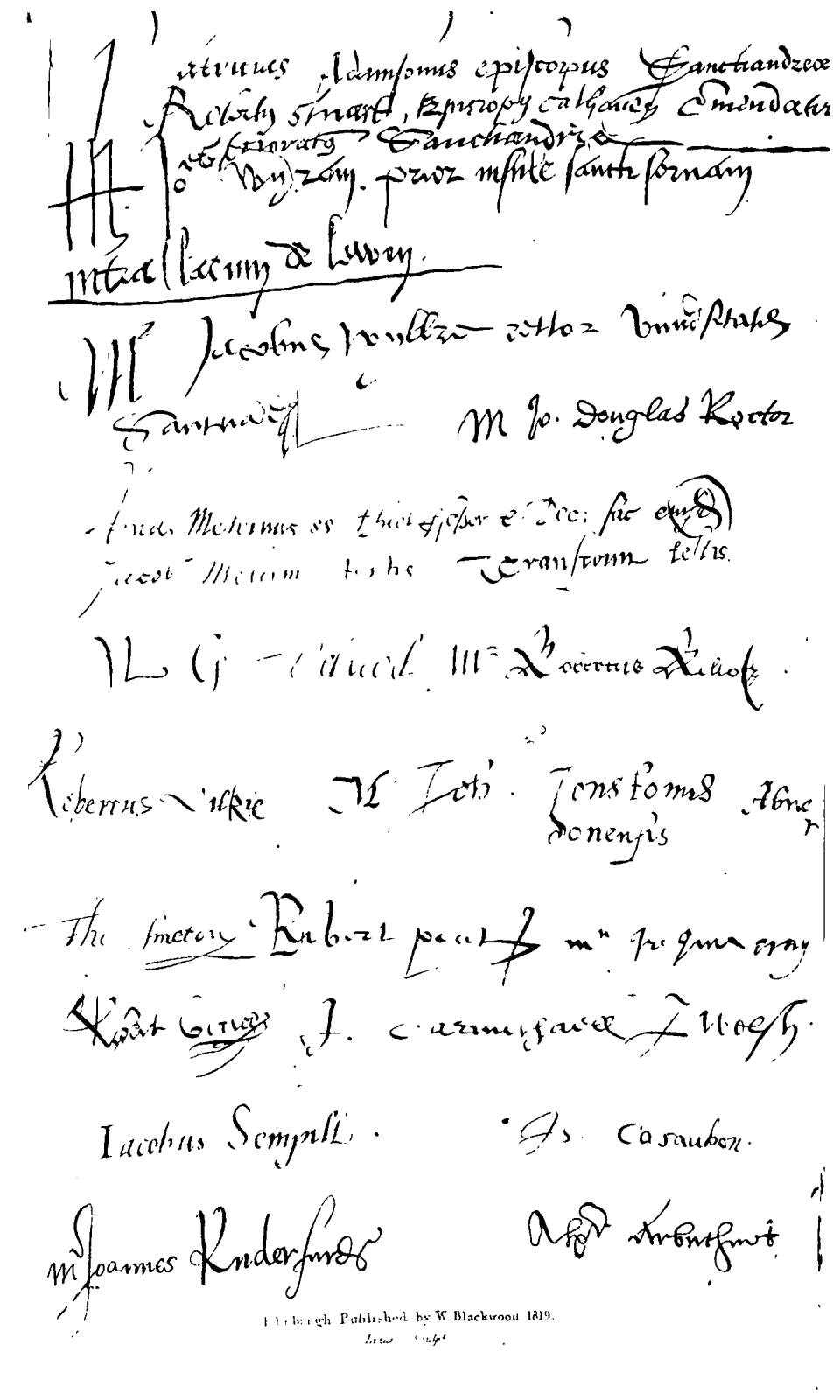
To make room for more important matter, I have been obliged to omit one or two papers referred to in the course of the work as to be inserted in the Appendix. For the same reason several letters and unpublished poems of Melville, which I intended to add, have been kept back. Prefixed to the work is a plate, containing fac-similes of the hand-writing of Melville, and some of the principal persons referred to in his Life.

Edinburgh,
November 2. 1819.

ERRATA.

VOL. I.

Page 44, line 4, from bottom, 452, read 439.
—— — 6, for *nominem*, read *non.ine.*
—— 77 Note, for *Gib on's History of Glasgow*, read *Memorial for Dr Trail*
—— 212, — 8. from bottom, for 1513, read 1413.
—— 226, — 5, from bottom, for *Fundatis*, read *Fundatio.*
—— 293, — 9, from bottom, for *twenty-four*, read *ten.*
—— 392, — 15, dele *to.*



CHAPTER I.

1545—1574.

ORIGIN of the family of Melville—parentage and birth of Andrew Melville—death of his parents—dutiful conduct of his eldest brother—his education at Montrose—mode of instruction in grammar schools—remarks on the progress of the Reformation—early attachment of the Melvilles to it—Andrew Melville acquires the Greek language—his academical education at St Andrews—his connection with Buchanan—compliment paid him by an Italian poet—he goes to the university of Paris—state of that university—Royal Trilingual College—Mercerus—Ramus—Jesuits' College—Edmund Hay—Melville distinguishes himself in the public exhibitions—his employment in the university of Poictiers—incidents there—he goes to Geneva—teaches in the academy there—prosecutes Oriental studies under Bertramus—learned men with whom he became acquainted at Geneva—Franciscus Portus—Beza—Henry Scrimger—Joseph Scaliger—Hottoman—connection between the studies of Law and Theology—writings in favour of civil liberty—influence which Melville's residence at

Geneva had upon his political sentiments—his epigrams on the massacres in France—he resolves to return to his native country—his testimonials from the academy of Geneva—his poetical encomium upon that city—occurrences in his journey through France and England to Scotland.

MELVILLE or MALEVILLE was the name of a family, which is said to have come originally from Normandy, and had settled in Scotland as early as the twelfth century. It spread into numerous branches, which, at the beginning of the sixteenth century, flourished in the shires of Fife, Angus, Kincardine, and the Lothians. The principal of these were Melville of Melville and Raith, from whom the Earl of Leven and Melville is descended; Melville of Carnbee; and Melville of Dysart *.

Though none of them were raised to the peerage until a late period, the Melvilles of Fife had long held a distinguished place among the gentlemen or lesser barons; they were allied by intermarriages to the principal families in the kingdom, and accustomed to claim affinity to the royal house †.

Richard Melville, the father of the subject of this

* See Note A.

† And. Melvini Prosopopeia Apologetica, in Melvini Epist. MSS. in Bibl. Coll. Edin. p. 22. Appendix Comment. in Apocalyps. Autore Patricio Forbesio a Corse, p. 275. Amstæl, 1646. —The passages referred to shall be afterwards quoted.

memoir, was brother-german to John Melville of Dysart *. He was proprietor of Baldovy, an estate pleasantly situated on the banks of the South Eske, about a mile to the south-west of the town of Montrose, and which continued in the possession of his descendants until the beginning of the eighteenth century †. By his wife, Giles Abercrombie, daughter of Thomas Abercrombie, a burgess of Montrose, and descendant of the house of Murthlie, he had nine sons. Richard, the eldest, succeeded to the family estate, and, after the establishment of the Reformation, officiated as minister of the neighbouring parish of Maritoun ‡. Thomas, an accomplished scholar, and improved by travelling, rose to be Secretary-depute of Scotland. Walter settled in Montrose, and frequently discharged the office of a magistrate in that town. Roger, a man of great natural talents, became a burgess of Dundee, where he was held in the highest respect by all his fellow-citizens ||. James and John devoted themselves to

* James Melville's Diary, MS. p. 26.

† See Note B.

‡ "Richard Melvill" was declared "apt and able to minyster," by the first General Assembly, 1560. Keith, 498—9. "Richard Melvill, minister of Inchbraock and Maritoun," was a member of the General Assembly which met in June 1562. Buik of Universall Kirk, p. 4.

|| William Christison, minister of Dundee, and Robert Bruce of Edinburgh, were among his intimate acquaintances, and the latter used to say, that if Roger Melville had enjoyed the education of his brother Andrew, he would have been the most singular man in Europe. Melville's Diary, p. 27.

the ministry in the reformed church; the former in Arbroath *, and the latter at Crail †. Robert and David, after being kept for some time at school, chose mechanical professions ‡.

Andrew, the youngest of the family, was born at Baldovy on the 1st of August, 1545. When only two years old he was bereaved of his father, who fell in the battle of Pinkie, along with the principal gentlemen of Angus and Mearns, who fought in the van-guard of the Scottish army, under their chief the Earl of Angus. His mother died in the course of the same year, and left him an orphan ||.

The disaster at Pinkie, with the events that followed upon it, proved ruinous to many families of considerable rank and opulence. And as the estate of Baldovy was small, as the family was numerous,

* He was a graduate of St Andrews. See List of Persons who were educated, or who taught, in the University of St Andrews; inserted in the Appendix.—April 27. 1591, Thomas Ramsay in Kirkton bound himself "to pay to the richt worchipfull Mr James Melvill, minister of Aberbrothock, 4 bolls beir wt. ane pek to the boll and twa bolls ait maill wt. the cheritie, guid and sufficient stuff—the mail to be for the sd Mr James awin aeting, all guid and fyne as ony gentill man sall eat in the countrie adjacent about him—or failzeing deliverie to pay for every boll 4 lib. money." Register of Contracts of the Commissariot of St Andrews. He was alive in March 1596, when he obtained decreet against John Richardson "for the few farme of the kirk lands of Aberbrothock, assigned to him by the Lords of Counsel; viz. 2 bolls wheat, 28 bolls bear, and 20 bolls ait meal."

† "Johanne Malwyll, minister of Crystis kirk in Crayll" is mentioned in the Register of the Kirk Session of St Andrews, October 8. 1561. Comp. Keith, Hist. p. 553.

‡ Melville's Diary, p. 27. || Ibid. pp. 26, 27.

and several of the sons were yet unprovided for, the sudden and premature death of his parents threatened to be an irreparable loss to young Melville. It was, however, greatly alleviated by the dutiful conduct of his oldest brother, who kept him in his house, and acted in every respect the part of a father to him. The kind intentions of Richard Melville might have been of little benefit, had they not been zealously seconded by the exertions of the excellent woman whom he had married, and who took as great an interest in her young relation as in her own children. This kindness was not thrown away; for Andrew continued always to cherish the memory of his sister-in-law with the warmest gratitude, and after he came to manhood, took pleasure in mentioning the endearing marks of affection which he recollected to have received from her when he was a boy *.

There is something peculiarly interesting, though it does not always meet with the attention which it merits, in the reciprocations of duty and affection

* "I have often heard Mr Andrew say, that he, being a bairn very sickly, was most lovingly and tenderly treated and cared for by her; embracing him, and kissing him oftentimes, with these words, 'God give me another lad like thee, and syne take me to his rest.' Now she had two lads before me, whereof the eldest was dead, and between him and the second she bare three lasses: so in the end, God gave her one, who, would to God he were as like Mr Andrew in gifts of mind, as he is thought to be in proportion of body and lineaments of face; for there is none that is not otherwise particularly informed but takes me for Mr Andrew's brother." James Melville's Diary, p. 4.

between persons placed in the relation and circumstances now described. By means of instinct, and by identifying the interests of parent and child, Providence has wisely secured the performance of duties which are equally necessary to the happiness of the individual and of the species. But, without wishing to detract from the amiable virtue of parental attachment, we may say, that its kind offices, when performed by those who stand in a remoter degree of relationship, may be presumed to partake less of the character of selfishness. And they are calculated to excite in the generous breast of the cherished orphan, a feeling which may be viewed as purer, and more enthusiastic, than that which is merely filial—a feeling of a mixed kind, in which the affection borne to a parent is finely combined with the admiration and the gratitude due to a disinterested benefactor.

Perceiving that his youngest brother was of a weakly constitution, and that he evinced at an early age a capacity and taste for learning, Richard Melville resolved to gratify his inclination, by giving him the best education that the country afforded. He accordingly placed him at the grammar school of Montrose, then taught by Thomas Anderson, who, at a subsequent period became minister of that parish. Though his learning was slender, Anderson was esteemed one of the best teachers of his time; and under his tuition young Melville acquired the principles of the Latin language, in which he after-

wards became so great a proficient *. It was the custom in the schools of that period to combine bodily exercises with the improvement of the mind. By means of these, joined to the attention paid to him at home, Andrew recovered from his early debility, and gradually attained that health of body which he enjoyed with very little interruption to an advanced age.

The slightest hints respecting the state of education in Scotland, during the infancy of learning, are interesting. In this view the curious reader may wish to peruse the particulars inserted in the notes †. They relate to the plan of instruction pursued in the schools of Logie and Montrose, when James Melville, a nephew of Andrew, attended them. This was ten years posterior to the time of which we are now writing. But, with the exception of what concerned religion, it is probable that very little change took place in the management of schools during that interval; and we will not materially err in supposing, that the education of the uncle and the nephew was conducted in the same manner, at least as to the elementary books which they used, and the exercises to which they were trained in the house and in the fields.

Some of the most distinguished masters of schools were at this time secretly attached to the doctrines of the Reformation, and upon its establishment became ministers of the church. As Anderson was

* Melville's Diary, p. 27. Comp. p. 10.

† See Note C.

one of these, it might be presumed that Melville was indebted to him for instruction in the principles of religion, as well as of secular learning. But he had a more able instructor in his pious and intelligent brother, who for many years had been a convert to the protestant faith.

We have been accustomed to suppose that Patrick Hamilton was the first who introduced the reformed opinions into Scotland, that he acquired them abroad, and that they were embraced by very few of his countrymen previously to his martyrdom. This opinion requires to be corrected. Before that youthful and zealous reformer made his appearance, the errors and corruptions of Popery had been detected by others, who were ready to co-operate with him in his measures of reform. The more the subject is investigated, the more clearly, I am persuaded, it will appear that the opinions of Wicliffe had the most powerful and extensive influence upon the Reformation. Even in Scotland they contributed greatly to predispose the minds of men to the protestant doctrine. We can trace the existence of the Lollards in Ayrshire from the time of Wicliffe to the days of George Wishart. And in Fife they were so numerous as to have formed the design of rescuing Patrick Hamilton by force on the day of his execution *.

It is observed by a celebrated historian, and the observation has been commonly received as correct,

* See Note D

that the reformed preachers in Scotland, "gained credit, as happens generally on the promulgation of every new religion, chiefly among persons in the lower and middle ranks of life*." This sentiment appears to be as objectionable as the preceding. It rests not upon proper evidence, but upon analogical reasoning from what happened at the first promulgation of Christianity, and from the manner in which many sects have arisen in modern times. The fact of the first preachers of the Christian religion, and the converts to their doctrine, being found chiefly among the lower and middle ranks of society, is connected with its miraculous propagation. And it does not follow from this that it should always be propagated in the same way. The divine authority and truth of Christianity having been once completely established, it was fit that external means of a more ordinary kind should be employed to facilitate its future diffusion, and that these should be varied according to the circumstances of the people among whom it was to be introduced or restored. Accordingly, the reformation of religion was preceded by the revival of letters throughout Europe: the principal reformers were men of superior talents and education; and their cause was espoused and essentially promoted by persons who possessed secular authority and influence. We are extremely apt to transfer to a former period ideas which belong only to our own. If we duly attend

* Robertson's History of Scotland.

to the state of society in Scotland at that time—the almost unbounded power of the barons, the vassalage of the people, the ignorance which reigned among the lower and the rarity of education among the middle ranks, with other peculiar hinderances to the communication of knowledge, we shall be convinced that the Reformation, humanly speaking, and without a miracle, could not have spread as it did—the truth could not have obtained a fair hearing, nor have come to the knowledge of the common people, if it had not been embraced and patrohized by persons of rank and superior means of information. The fact exactly corresponds to this view. The opinions of Wicliffe were preserved in some of the most respectable families both in the western and eastern corners of the kingdom; Hamilton and Wishart were themselves of honourable descent; and the sermons of the latter were attended by the principal persons in Ayrshire, the Lothians, Fife, and Angus.

The Melvilles of Fife were among the early adherents of the protestant doctrine. The family of Baldovy had embraced it before the birth of Andrew Melville. His eldest brother, Richard, having received a learned education, and being trained by his father to the knowledge of country affairs, was chosen to accompany John Erskine of Dun, on his travels to the continent. It is probable that the young baron and his tutor were instructed in the protestant doctrine before they left home. For they repaired to Wittemberg, and studied for two

years under that distinguished reformer and scholar, Philip Melanchthon. They also visited Denmark, and attended the lectures of their countryman Maccabeus, who had been recently admitted professor of divinity in the university of Copenhagen *. On their return to Scotland, they exerted themselves in imparting the knowledge which they had acquired. With George Wishart they cultivated the most intimate acquaintance; and the houses of Dun and Baldovy became the resort of the friends of religion and letters †. Andrew Melville was eleven years old in 1556, when Knox paid a visit to Dun, and when the sermons which he preached there were attended by most of the gentlemen in the neighbourhood ‡.

I have elsewhere mentioned the important service which John Erskine of Dun rendered to the literature of Scotland by establishing a Greek school in Montrose §. Pierre de Marsilliers, a native of France, taught in it, when Melville had finished his course of Latin at the grammar school. This was an opportunity not to be neglected by one who was passionately fond of knowledge. Instead of going to the university, as was usual for young men of his age and progress, he put himself under the care of this learned Frenchman; and, supporting himself on his patrimony, prosecuted the study of Greek during two years with great avidity ||.

* Melville's Diary. p. 2, 3. † Ibid. p. 3.
‡ Life of John Knox, vol. i. p. 177—180.
§ Ibid. vol. i. p. 6. || Melville's Diary, p. 27.

From Marsilliers he had also the opportunity of acquiring a more perfect acquaintance with the French language, the first principles of which were at this time commonly taught to young men along with Latin grammar*.

In the year 1559 he went to the university of St Andrews, and entered the college of St Mary, or, as it was sometimes called, the New College†. The writings of Aristotle were then the only text book, in all the sciences taught in our colleges; and the lectures given were properly comments on his several treatises of logic, rhetoric, ethics, and physics. But the professors were unacquainted with the original language of their oracle, and read and commented upon his works in a Latin translation. Melville, however, made use of the Greek text in his studies; a circumstance which excited astonishment in the university‡. But it should be recorded to the praise of his teachers, that, though they could not fail to be mortified under a sense of their own inferiority, they indulged no mean jealousy of the

* Melville's Diary, p. 5. † See Note E.

‡ "Our Regent (says James Melville) told me of my uncle Mr Andrew Melville, whom he knew in the time of his course in the New College to use the Greek logicks of Aristotle, which was a wonder to them, that he was so fine a scholar, and of such expectation."—"All that was taught of Aristotle he learned and studyed it out of the Greek text, which his masters understood not." Melville's Diary, pp. 18, 28.

William Cplless or *Collace*, was James Melville's Regent. He was of St Leonard's College, and was incorporated into the university at the same time with Melville.

superior acquirements of their pupil; testified no desire to eclipse his reputation; threw no obstacles in the way of his advancement; but, on the contrary, loaded him with commendations, and did every thing in their power to encourage a youth, who, they fondly hoped, would prove a credit and an ornament to his country. When he first came to St Andrews, the admiration at his proficiency in learning was increased by his small stature and slender frame of body, which gave him a very boyish appearance. John Douglas, who was provost of St Mary's college, and rector of the university, distinguished him by marks of the kindest and most condescending approbation. He used to invite him to his chamber, take him between his knees, propose questions to him on the subject of his studies, and, when delighted with his replies, to exclaim, "My silly, fatherless, and motherless boy, its ill to witt what God may make of thee yet *!"

In the College of St Mary, Melville had for his class-fellows, two persons of excellent talents; Thomas Maitland, the brother of the celebrated secretary of Queen Mary, and James Lawson, the colleague and successor of Knox, with whom he continued afterwards to maintain an intimate friendship. It does not appear who was the regent that carried them through their course of philosophy †.

* Melville's Diary, p. 28.

† Dempster mentions Alexander Ramsay as the preceptor of Melville. "Alexander Ramsayus vir doctissimus in patrio Sanctandreano Gymnasio præclaram famam ab eruditione accepit,

A view of the state of education at St Andrews will be given in a subsequent part of this work. It may be sufficient at present to notice, that the means of instruction in St Mary's were more ample than in either of the other colleges. There were separate classes for grammar and rhetoric. There was also a teacher of law, to whose lectures the students of philosophy had access before they commenced masters of arts *.

Having finished the usual course of study, Melville left the university of St Andrews with the character of "the best philosopher, poet, and Grecian of any young master in the land †."

While Melville was engaged in his academical education, Buchanan returned to his native country. It is much to be regretted, that we have such scanty information respecting the manner in which that great scholar was employed from 1561 to 1567, when he became principal of St Leonard's college. As it is, we are left to suppose that he spent the time in teaching the queen Latin, and in preparing his poems for the press. In a copy of verses addressed to him on his recovery from a dangerous

Andreæ Melvini præceptor. Scripsit Panegyricos Latinos: Castigationem Veterum Dionysii Halicarnassæi Interpretum Latinorum: Notas in D. Paulini Opera." Hist. Eccles. Scot. lib. 16. p. 563. I have not met with the name of Alexander Ramsay as a teacher at St Andrews: perhaps he taught at Paris while Melville was there.

* Fundatio et Erectio Novi Collegii, Anno 1553. Melville's Diary, p. 16.

† Melville's Diary, p. 28. See also Note E.

illness, Melville calls him *his Master**. In the absence of all other information, we are not perhaps warranted to take this expression literally as implying that he had been under his tuition. But considering the zeal with which Buchanan patronized literature, and the affability with which he received young men of promising talents, it is highly probable that Melville was at this early period admitted to his society, and profited by his oral instructions, during the visits which he appears to have paid to St Andrews†. The fame which his illustrious countryman had acquired, and the perusal of his poems, must have roused the youthful fancy of Melville, and led him to devote himself to a species of composition in which he afterwards attained to great

* "Andreas Melvinus Geo. Buchanano Præceptori suo & Musarum parenti." Testimonia prefix. Oper. Buchanani, p. 21. Edit. Ruddim. It may be remarked, that Sir Thomas Randolph, the well known ambassador from Elizabeth to Scotland, when he mentions Buchanan, uses the expression "my Maister," both in letters to him and to others. (Buchanani Epistolæ, pp. 18, 19.) Ruddiman, in his Notes on Buchanan's Life, says, that Randolph was taught humanity by Buchanan.—"a Buchanano humanioribus literis eruditus." The writer of Randolph's Life in the Biographia Britannica (vol. v. p. 3490.) understands this as meaning that he had Buchanan for "his schoolmaster," before he entered the University of Oxford. This is a mistake; and I have no doubt that Randolph studied under Buchanan in the University of Paris, when he fled from England into France to escape the persecution of Queen Mary. This was in 1553. (Biogr. Brit. ut supra. Wood's Athenæ Oxonienses, by Bliss, vol. i. p. 567.) In the course of that year Buchanan taught at Paris, as a regent in the College of Boncourt. Irving's Memoirs of Buchanan, p. 90. 2d. Edit.

† Epist. Dedic. in *Franciscanos*.

excellence. To this, however, his mind had been attracted at a still earlier period. His brother had read and admired the poems of those Italians who had recently cultivated the ancient language of their country, with uncommon ardour and the most wonderful success. Palingenius, in particular, was a favourite with Richard Melville on account of the purity of his moral sentiments, as well as the elegant dress in which they were clothed; and he was wont to repeat passages from his *Zodiacus Vitæ* to the youth of his family, and to make them commit the poem to memory *.

While Melville was yet at the university of St Andrews, his talents had attracted the notice of learned foreigners who visited Scotland. Among these was Petrus Bizzarus, a poet of Italy, who had left his native country from attachment to the reformed religion. After spending some time at the court of London, he came to Scotland, where he was honourably received by Queen Mary, and by the Earl of Murray, who had then the chief direction of the government †. Melville was introduced to Bizzari, who expressed his warm regard for him in a copy of verses inserted in a work which was

* Melville's Diary, p. 8.

† Bizzarus informs us that Mary presented him with a chain of gold, and he has addressed one of his treatises to that princess. Varia Opuscula, f. 28, a. In a poem inscribed "Ad Jacobum Stuardum Scotum," he celebrates the victory which that nobleman gained over the Earl of Huntly, in such terms as to warrant the conclusion, that he was then in Scotland. Ibid. f. 93, a. The battle of Corrichie, in which Huntly fell, was fought in October 1562.

soon after published *. This was a flattering compliment to so young a man, especially as he was the only scholar in his native country who shared this honour with Buchanan.

Having acquired all the branches of learning which his native country afforded, Andrew Melville resolved to complete his education on the continent. In autumn 1564, being nineteen years of age, he set out for France, having previously obtained the consent of his brothers to the journey. His voyage was both tedious and dangerous. Through stress of weather he was obliged to land in England, and afterwards to go to Bourdeaux, from which he re-

* The following are the lines referred to:

Ad Andream Melvinum Scotum.

Nvlla apis Hyblæis legit de floribus unquam,
Deq; vllis herbis dulcia mella magis;
Dulcia vina magis nunquam de dulcibus vuis
Vlla dedit vitis quolibet axé poli:
Quàm mihi dulcis ades, dulci sermone, tuisq;
Mellitis verbis, moribus, ingenio.
Sincerum pectus, fidei constantia vere,
Veraq; sincera cum pietate, fides;
Me tibi sic vinclo dudum obstrinxere tenaci,
Meluine, vt possit soluere nulla dies.
Nulla dies soluet, distantia nulla locorum,
Imminuet, firmum sed mihi semper erit.

Petri Bizzari Varia Opvscvla, f. 109, b. Venetiis, 1565, 12mo.

For pointing out to me this rare book, and for other valuable notices, I am indebted to Dr Irving, the learned biographer of Buchanan.—Some of Bizzari's poems were afterwards reprinted in *Delitiæ Pœtarum Italorum*. The one just quoted is there inscribed "Ad Andream Miluinum," tom i. p. 437. Bizzarus is also the author of a history of the war in Hungary, from 1564 to 1568, written in Italian, and a history of Persia, in Latin.

turned by sea to Dieppe. Having reached Paris, he immediately commenced his studies in the renowned university of that city.

We may in general form a correct estimate of the progress which a young man of talents and avidity for knowledge will make, from the state of education, and the character of the teachers, in the seminary which he attends. The university of Paris had long enjoyed a pre-eminent reputation among the great schools of Europe, founded on its antiquity, the number of its colleges, the extent of its revenues, and the venerated names which stood enrolled in its registers as professors or as students. Attracted by these considerations, a multitude of young men from all the surrounding countries flocked to it annually, and were admitted citizens of one or other of the four nations into which that learned corporation was divided *.

But whatever was its nominal and popular cele-

* The four nations were those of France, Picardy, Normandy, and Germany or England, which last included Scotland and Ireland. In 1513, there were 90 Regents belonging to the nation of France alone. Bulæi Hist. Universitatis Parisiensis, tom. vi. p. 59. In the 12th century, the number of members of the university nearly equalled that of the citizens of Paris, and included students from every part of Christendom. Epist. Diogillensis ad Abælardum apud Bulæi Hist. tom. ii. p. 663. About the beginning of the 16th century, there were 10,000 persons in it engaged in different branches of study. Pontanus de Obedientia, lib. 5. cap. 6. apud Gratiarum Act. pro Instaurata Parisiensi Academia, p. 14. Paris. 1601. Joseph Scaliger says, that, when he attended the university, (which was only a few years before Melville entered it) there were *thirty thousand* students. Scaligerana, Thuana, &c. tom. ii. p. 490.

brity, the university of Paris was indebted for its real eminence to the *Royal Trilingual College*, founded in 1529 by Francis I., at the recommendation of Budæus. That great scholar * had long lamented the inefficiency of the university for promoting the interests of literature, and despaired of introducing a tolerable reform into colleges founded in unenlightened times, and governed by laws and usages, which were as deeply rooted in inveterate prejudice as they were irreconcilable to the principles of liberal science. The new institution was formed on the model of the Buslidean College at Louvain, which had been so zealously patronized by Erasmus. It was the intention of Budæus to have had that distinguished scholar placed at its head; but he declined an honour which he foresaw would involve him in those troublesome and dangerous disputes from which it was his uniform object to escape. The Royal Trilingual College was originally intended, as its name imports, for teaching the three learned languages, Latin, Greek, and Hebrew; although it was some time before a teacher of Latin was appointed, owing to the opposition made by the members of the university, which led Erasmus, in one of his letters, to call them *bilingual* pedants. The friends of learning obtained from Francis I. and his successors, the endowment of additional classes in the new establishment; and when Melville came to Paris, there were royal professors in all the branches of science, except

* "Nunquam erit in Gallia alter Budæus." Scaligerana Secunda.

Civil Law and Divinity. Previous to the erection of the Royal College, there was no provision in the university for instructing young men in the learned languages; the professors, in the different faculties, occupied themselves in commenting on barbarous and monkish authors, and in the discussion of frivolous and intricate questions; the exercises of the students consisted of noisy and captious disputations; and degrees were conferred in a manner which would be reckoned disgraceful by those universities which are at present most lavish in the distribution of their nominal literary honours *. But a change to the better might now be observed in every branch of education. The court had the right of presentation to the chairs in the new college, and as it was become fashionable for the kings of France to act as the patrons of learning, men of talents and erudition were usually appointed to fill them. In addition to the direct influence of their instructions, they contributed indirectly but powerfully to reform the university. They excited strong hostility indeed, but at the same time they produced emulation. They occasioned fierce disputes by provoking the resentment of illiterate sophists and bigoted theologians, but they also broke the slumber which these literary drones had hitherto indulged in their cells, and roused them to exertions which otherwise they never would have made. The professors in the old colleges perceived that they were in danger of being eclipsed by their

* *Bulæi* Hist. tom. vi. pp. ii. 915. Gratiarum Actio, ut supra, p. 14.

more popular rivals, and were reduced to the alternative of exerting themselves, and adopting the new improvements, or of seeing their lessons contemned, their classes deserted, and their emoluments alarmingly reduced.

When Melville entered the university of Paris, it was in its most prosperous state. The late improvements had produced their salutary fruit, and they had not yet felt the blasting influence of the spirit of faction and fanaticism engendered by the infamous League, which, within a short time, destroyed the labours of many years, and reduced that flourishing seminary to its original barbarism *. The nation was enjoying a respite during the interval between the first civil war which ended in 1563, and the second which broke out in 1567; and several of the professors, who, as well as the students, had been involved in the public confusions, had returned to Paris, and were restored to the charges which they had left, or from which they had been driven by the violence of the times †.

Among the professors whose lectures were attended by Melville, we find the names of those who held a distinguished rank in their several professions, and to whom letters and philosophy are under the greatest obligations. The Greek chair in the Royal College was still filled by Turnebus, who had formerly

* Libellus Supplex ad August. Senatvm pro Academia Parisiensi, p. 14. Paris. 1601. Gratiarvm Actio pro Instaurata Parisiensi Academia, pp. 15, 26—29. Paris. 1601.

† Bulæi Hist. Univ. Paris. tom. vi. pp. 550, 551. Bayle, Dict. art. *Ramée*.

been the colleague of Buchanan in that university, and who united an elegant taste with the highest critical attainments. Melville had the happiness to attend the last course of lectures delivered by that learned man in the year in which he died *. Mercerus and Quinquarboreus were conjunct royal Professors of Hebrew and Chaldee. By his oral instructions, the elementary treatises which he published, and his translations from Hebrew and Chaldee, the former contributed more than any individual of that age to the advancement of Eastern learning. His commentaries on the Old Testament still deserve the attention of the biblical student; and Father Simon, whose judgment was sufficiently fastidious, has pronounced the highest eulogium on him, when he says, that Mercier possessed all the qualifications of an interpreter of Scripture, and that the only thing to be regretted in him is, that he suffered himself to be carried away by the novel opinions of the reformers †. Quinquarboreus, though

* He died prematurely in June 1565. Hist. Typographorum Paris. pp. 47—78. Bulæus, vi. 918. It has been supposed that he was of Scots extraction, and that his proper name was Tournebeuf or Turnbull. Dempster says he was of the same family as William Turnbull, bishop of Glasgow. Hist. Eccl. Scot. p. 623. Another writer says, "Ex familiâ Turnbullorum in Lisdalia Scotiæ provinciæ oriundus." D. Buchananus de Script. Scot. MS. in Bibl. Coll. Edin. And again, in the Appendix, "Hadrianus Turnebus Scoto avo natus."

† Simon, Histoire Critique de V. Testament. Bezæ Icones, Y, j. et Præfat. ejus in Merceri Comment. in Ecclesiasten. The first separate and formal treatise on Chaldaic grammar was "Tabulæ in Grammaticen linguæ Chaldææ, quæ et Syriac-

destitute of the critical acumen and extensive knowledge of his colleague, has shewn that he was well acquainted with Hebrew grammar*. Under such able masters, Melville applied himself with great assiduity to the study of these languages, which he could not acquire in his native country.

We must not omit to mention here the celebrated Petrus Ramus, who excited so much notice by his bold and persevering attacks on the Aristotelian Philosophy, and became the founder of a new sect which made no inconsiderable progress in the schools of Europe. Whatever opinion may be entertained on the merits of his system of logic, or its tendency to advance real science, it does not admit of a doubt that a young man of talents must have derived the greatest benefit from a teacher of such ardour and independence, if not originality of mind, and of so much eloquence, as Ramus possessed. The greatest men of that age were trained up under him †; and

dicitur—Johanne Mercero Hebraicarum Literarum Professore Regio. Paris. 1560." 4to. Beautifully printed at the royal press by William Morell.

* "De Re Grammatica Hebræorum Opus, in gratiam Studiosorum linguæ Sanctæ, methodo facillima conscriptum, Authore Johanne Quinquarboreo Aurilacensi, linguarum Hebraicæ et Caldaicæ Regio Professore. Tertia et Postrema æditio. Parisiis apud Martinum Juvenem. 1556." Wolfius says that this work was printed at Paris in 1549, 1556, and 1582. Bibl. Hebr. tom. ii. p. 615. But it appears from the above title that there were two editions of it before 1556.

† Nicolaus Nancelius, referring to his having taught in 1553 under Ramus in the college de Presle, says, in a letter to Buchanan, "ubi Regii tum juvenes Stuarti vestrates discebant." (Buch-

several of those, who, like Scaliger, have spoken disrespectfully of his merits, were more indebted to him than they were ready to acknowledge, for that acuteness and classical taste which enabled them to detect the blunders which he certainly committed, and which he was betrayed into by precipitation and by a fondness for distinguishing himself in every department of knowledge. He was at this time Royal Professor of Roman Eloquence, as well as Principal of the college de Presle. Melville attended his lectures, and we shall afterwards have occasion to shew that he introduced the plan of teaching, and the mode of philosophizing, followed by his master, into the universities of Scotland.

Besides the lectures of these professors, he attended also those of Duretus, Paschasius, Forcatellus, Carpentarius, and Salignacus *. While he listened

anani Epistolæ, p. 35.) One of these was the Prior of St Andrews, afterwards the Regent Murray. It appears, from a Visitation of St Leonard's college, that he was on the continent in 1551; for a cause is delayed "usque ad redditum [reditum] Dñi Commendatarii Prioratus S. Andreæ—ex partibus transmarinis." (Papers of St Leonard's College.) And a Commission by William Bishop of Aberdeen is signed by the Prior, as a witness, at Paris, September 13. 1552. Keith's Scottish Bishops, p. 74.

* Melville's Diary, p. 33. Louis Durat was the favourite physician of Charles IX. and Henry III. Teissier, Eloges, tom. ii. p. 320. 2. edit.—Paschasius Hamelius succeeded Orontius Finæus, the first royal Professor of Mathematics, and died in 1565. Bulæus, vi. 651, 915, 966.—Forcatellus was the author of two works on the science which he taught: "Le Troisieme Livre d'Arithmetique, par Pierre de Forcadel. Paris 1557. 4to; and "Les Six Premieres Livres des Elements d'Evclide trad. et commentez par Pierre Forcadel de Bezies." Paris, 1564. 4to.—

to the instructions of the Royal Professors, Melville took his share in the usual academical exercises. And, during the second year of his abode in the university, he excited great admiration by the ease and fluency with which he declaimed in Greek *.

There are two circumstances relating to the university of Paris, during the time that Melville attended it, which deserve notice. The first relates to the religious liberty that was enjoyed, and the rapid progress which the protestant opinions were consequently making in it. A number of the professors, including several heads of colleges, avowed their attachment to these, and others were strongly suspected of the same religious biass †. But a few years after Melville left Paris, all those who refused

Jacobus Carpentarius (Charpentier) the great opponent of Ramus, was chosen royal Professor of Mathematics in 1565. Ramus opposed his admission on the ground of his ignorance of that science, and urged that, as he had taken the title of Professor of Philosophy and Mathematics, there was reason to fear he intended to confine himself to the former branch, and to neglect the latter.—Bulæus, tom. vi. pp. 650—652.—James Melville mentions Salinacus among the professors of Mathematics. But this is a mistake. Joannes Salignacus was the favourite scholar of Vatablus, and distinguished for his acquaintance with Jewish and Rabinical learning. He appears to have been one of the royal Professors of Hebrew when Melville was at Paris. Colomesii Gallia Orientalis, pp. 33—35. Calvini Epist. et Resp. p. 163. Oper. tom. ix.

* Melville's Diary, p. 33.

† Nicholas Charton, Principal of the College of Beauvais, Joannes Dahin, Principal of Chenai, and Petrus Ramus, Principal of Presle, with others of inferior note, were, in 1568, ejected from their situations, as Hugonots. Bulæus, tom. vi. pp. 657—

to subscribe the Roman Catholic faith, including the students, were driven from the university *.

The other circumstance alluded to is the opening of the College of Clermont at Paris by the Jesuits, with the exertions made by that intriguing order to gain admission into the university, and to insinuate themselves into the chief management of the education of youth. At the head of this new establishment was a countryman of Melville's, Edmund Hay, who had been a regent in the university of St Andrews, and left Scotland at the establishment of the Reformation, to which he was hostile†. The greater part of the Scots who retired to the continent from attachment to the old religion entered into the society of the Jesuits, in which they ordinarily obtained promotion; owing to the ardour of their zeal, and a desire to allure converts from a king-

660. The other universities of France were, in proportion to their extent, still more generally infected with heresy. In Bourges eight professors were suspected of Lutheranism. Bayle, Dict. art. *Dauren.* The magistrates of Paris, in 1568, enforced their petition for the opening of a class for Civil Law, by urging the danger to which their sons were exposed of being infected with heresy by studying at other universities. Bulæus, vi. 668.

* Bulæus, vi. 562, 583.

† See List of Persons educated at St Andrews; in Appendix. Crawfurd says he was the son of Peter Hay of Meggins, ancestor of the Earls of Kinnoul. (Officers of State, p. 157.) But he seems to have confounded the Jesuit with a person of the same name who was an Advocate. There is no evidence that the former ever followed the profession of Law (as Crawfurd asserts): he had left Scotland in 1560, or at any rate was in France in 1564, and continued, till his death, to hold a distinguished place among the Jesuits in that country. Mr Edmund Hay, advocate, was one

dom that had so suddenly and universally made defection from the Catholic Church. Hay was entitled to these honours by the respectability of his character no less than the sacrifices which he had made. He afterwards became Rector of the Academy which the Jesuits erected at Port-a-Mousson, Provincial of the Brethren in France, and Assistant to Claudius Aquaviva, the General of the whole order *.

The knowledge which Melville at this time obtained of the designs of the Jesuits prompted him to exert himself afterwards in putting the universities of Scotland on such a footing, as to render it unnecessary for young men to seek education abroad, where they were in the greatest danger of being seduced by these active and artful zealots of Rome †.

Melville also heard Francis Baldwin the lawyer, who, at this time, delivered occasional or extraordi-

of the Counsel for the Earl of Bothwell, on his trial for the murder of Darnly, and in the process of his divorce. Buchanan's Detection, k, 2. Goodall's Examination, i. 368. And he signs a Contract as a procurator, Jan. 2. 1572. Register-Book of Contracts of the Commissariot of St Andrews.—Dempster has stated, with more probability, that father Edmund Hay was descended from the family of Dalgaty, in Buchan. Hist. Eccles. Scot. lib. 8. p. 301.

* Ribadeneira, Illustr. Script. Societ. Jas. Catal. p. 49. Lugd. 1609. Dempst. ut. supra. A letter from Edmund Hay, ("ex Paris. ibid. Feb. 1564,") in which he gives an account of the successful commencement of instruction in the college of Clermont, and of the opposition it had met with, is inserted by Bulæus. Histor. Univers. Paris. Tom. vi. p. 588.

† In 1594 the Jesuit's Seminary had nearly depopulated the colleges in the university of Paris. Bulæus, ut supra, p. 847.

nary lectures on Civil Law at Paris*. There was not then, nor for a considerable time after, a regular class for this science in the university of Paris, and it was not without strenuous opposition from the other learned corporations in France that its erection was obtained †. Melville had no intention of practising law, but he was anxious to devote his attention to it as connected with a complete course of education. With this view he left Paris in 1566, and went to the university of Poitiers.

Such was the reputation which he had gained, that, though a stranger, and only twenty-one years of age, he was on his arrival at Poitiers made a regent in the college of St Marceon. There was great rivalship between it and the college of St Pivareau, the students of each endeavouring to excel those of the other in the composition of verses, and in the delivery of orations. In these literary contests the college of St Marceon carried away the palm, as long as Melville was connected with it. In this situation he continued for three years, prosecuting at the same time the study of jurisprudence ‡. The civil war between the Catholics and Protestants, which was renewed in 1567, continued

* Melville's Diary, p. 33. Bayle states that Balduin, about the period here referred to, read lectures upon parts of the Pandects, at Paris, to a large audience, and with great applause. Dict. art. *Baudouin.* And it would appear that, as early as 1546, he and Hottoman prelected on Civil Law in the schools *du Decret.* Ibid. art. *Hotman* (Francois) note M.

† See Note F. ‡ Melville's Diary, ut supra.

to spread through the kingdom, and extended its baleful influence to the seats of learning. In 1568, Admiral Coligni, at the head of the protestant army, laid siege to the city of Poitiers, which was vigorously defended by the young Duke of Guise. The classes in the university being broken up, Melville entered into the family of a Counsellor of Parliament as tutor to his only son. When he was making rapid improvement in his education, this promising boy was prematurely cut off. Coming into his room one day, Melville found his little pupil bathed in blood, and mortally wounded by a cannon ball from the camp of the besiegers which had pierced the house. He lingered for a short time, during which he employed the religious instructions which he had received in comforting his afflicted parent; and expired in his tutor's arms, pronouncing these words in Greek, Διδασκαλε, τον δρομον μου τετελεκα— *Master, I have finished my course.* Melville continued to retain the most lively recollection of this affecting scene, to which he never could allude without tears *.

During the siege Melville found himself exposed to danger in a different way. He had taken no part in the political dissentions of the country, and prudently avoided giving offence to the Roman Catholics with whom he was obliged to associate. But his inclinations as to religion were not altogether

* Melville's Diary, p. 33, 4.

unknown *, and any mercenary or officious informer might deprive him of his liberty, or even his life, in a place which was under martial law. There was a small company of soldiers stationed as a guard to the Counsellor's house, and Melville had raised the suspicions of the subaltern officer who commanded them, by reading the Bible and by other devotional acts, which were usually regarded by the French soldiery as the discriminating marks of the Hugonots or Christaudins †. An alarm being one day given that the enemy intended an assault, the officer, with a stern voice, challenged him as a Hugonot, who would betray the city to the enemy, and whom he durst not trust at liberty. Melville repelled this charge with warmth, armed himself with the utmost expedition, and taking a horse from the stable, prepared to mount it. His stout reply, and the alacrity which he displayed, staggered the soldier, who requested him to desist from his preparations. "No, no; (answered Melville) I will shew myself this day to be as honest and as brave a man as you." Upon this the poor fellow had recourse to entreaties, begging him not to inform the master of the house of what he had done; for if the matter came to the ears of his superior officer he would lose his place

* There had been a reformed church in Poitiers for several years, and its minister sat in the first National Synod of the protestants of France. In 1560 the second National Synod was held in that city. Quick, i. 2, 12.

† The Catholics of France were accustomed at this time to apply both these names to the protestants. Bulæus, vi. 483.

for molesting so loyal and good a subject. And he ever after treated Melville with the most profound respect.

The siege being raised, Melville resolved to quit France, and repair to Geneva for the prosecution of theological studies. Great caution was necessary in carrying this purpose into execution; for it was reported that foreign troops were coming to the assistance of the Admiral, and the governors of the provinces adjoining to Switzerland and Germany had received strict orders from court to suffer none to leave the kingdom without passports. Having concerted his journey with a young Frenchman who wished to accompany him, he left his books and other effects behind him, and set out on foot with a small Hebrew Bible slung from his belt. This was a mode of travelling to which he was partial, and the usual way in which he equipped himself for it. Being light in body, and full of spirits, he performed the journey with great ease; and when his fellow traveller, exhausted with fatigue, had thrown himself on bed, he sallied forth, and examined whatever was worthy of being seen in the places at which they stopped. By avoiding the public roads and fortified towns, they passed the frontiers of France without meeting with any interruption. Night had set in when they reached Geneva, and the city was strictly guarded on account of the confusions of France, and the multitude of strangers who came from it. When questioned by the guard, the Frenchman replied that they were

poor scholars from France. The countenance of the soldier expressed his thoughts as significantly as if he had said aloud, 'We have got too many persons of your description already.' Melville, perceiving this, assured him that they had enough of money to pay for all that they required, and shewing him the letters which they had for Monsieur Beza, begged to know where they would find that minister: upon which the gates were opened to them.

At their first interview Beza was highly pleased with Melville, and talked of him to his colleagues as a person who appeared well qualified to fill the chair of Humanity which happened to be then vacant in their Academy. Accordingly he was put on trials within a few days after his arrival, and, being examined on Virgil and Homer, acquitted himself so much to the satisfaction of his judges, that he was immediately admitted. A quarter of a year's salary was paid him at his admission, which proved a very seasonable relief; for, notwithstanding his courageous language to the guard, the joint funds of the two travellers did not exceed a crown when they entered Geneva. He was now able to support himself creditably, and also to maintain his desponding companion until such time as he obtained a situation.

During the ten years which had elapsed since its erection, the University, or, as it is commonly called, the Academy of Geneva,* had flourished

* The magistrates of Geneva having applied to the king of

under the fostering care of the magistrates and ministers of that energetic republic. It was at this time furnished with teachers who were inferior to those of no titled university in Europe, and had attracted students from every protestant country. The professorship which Melville had obtained was chiefly valued by him as it put it in his power to avail himself of the talents of these excellent men in the prosecution of his studies. With true literary ardour he waited on their public instructions as a scholar, at the same time that he was honoured with their friendship and admitted to their private society as a colleague.

It was at this time that he made that progress in oriental literature for which he was afterwards distinguished. Rodolph Chevalier *, the first professor of Hebrew in the academy, had lately left Geneva, and was succeeded by Cornelius Bertramus. The talents and erudition of Bertram were superior to those of his predecessor. His book on the Jewish Polity is still a standard work; and his Comparison of the Hebrew and Aramean languages

France to obtain the privileges of a university to their academy, his majesty, after consultation, refused the request, upon this ground, that "Universities were found to be the nurseries of heresy." Senebier, Histoire Literaire de Geneve, i. 35.

* Antoine-Rodolphe Chevalier (Cevalerius) was Queen Elizabeth's tutor in the French language; and at a late period of his life he appears to have taught Hebrew in England. Among the Baker MSS. vol. xiii. 36. is "Account of Cevalerius, Hebrew reader, and his issue." Biogr. Britan. vol. i. p. 524. 2d edit. Teissier, Eloges, tom. ii. p. 438.

discovers an acquaintance with grammatical analogy very uncommon at that period*. Melville acquired from him the knowledge of Syraic, which had but recently become a subject of study among Europeans, and which is so useful to a divine from its near affinity to the original of the Old Testament, and the ancient and valuable version of the New Testament which exists in it.

The Greek chair in the academy was then filled by Franciscus Portus, a native of the island of Candia†. Portus is well known to the learned by his commentaries on ancient authors. He had resided at the court of Renée, the accomplished Dutchess of Ferrara, and retired to Geneva for the sake of enjoying the freer exercise of the reformed religion. Enthusiastically attached to Grecian literature, from patriotism as well as profession, Portus was charmed with the progress which Mel-

* Four recommendatory poems by Melville are prefixed to this work. Its title is: "Comparatio Grammaticæ Hebraicæ et Aramicæ. Auctore Bonaventura Cornelio Bertramo, vtriusque linguæ Professore. Apud Evstathivm Vignon. 1574." 4to. Bertram was the editor of the Polyglot Bible, published by Commelin in 3 vols. fol. 1586. Le Long, Bibliotheca Sacra, tom. i. part. i. p. 384—5. edit. Masch. For his other works, Bayle, Teissier, and Colomesius (Gallia Orientalis, p. 68.) may be consulted.

† Isaac Casaubon, the first Greek scholar of the age in which he lived, was a pupil of Portus, and has pronounced the highest eulogium on his master. "Sincera pietas, virtus excellens, et singularis doctrina, bonis omnibus venerabilem reddebant." Exercitationes ad Apparat. Annal. Baronii, p. 37. edit. 1663. See also Vita Casauboni, pp. 4, 5. edit. Almeloveen. Several Greek poems by Portus are in the edition *Bezæ Poematum*, anno 1569.

ville had made in it, and took great pleasure in pointing out to him the various beauties of his native tongue, and in discussing with him those nicer questions in philology about which critics were then divided. On these occasions Melville sometimes ventured to oppose the favourite opinions of his master, either from conviction, or with the view of eliciting fuller information on the subject. In a dispute as to the proper pronunciation of the language, and the power of the accents, he happened one day to push his objections rather too freely, upon which the jealous Candian grew warm, and testily exclaimed, *Vos Scoti, vos barbari, docebitis nos Græcos pronunciationem nostræ linguæ, scilicet!—You Scots, you barbarians, will teach us Greeks how to pronounce our own language, forsooth*!*

But the person to whom Melville felt the strongest attraction at Geneva, was the celebrated Theodore Beza, who performed the duty of professor of divinity in the academy along with that of a minister of the city. After the death of Calvin, Beza was unquestionably the brightest ornament, and the most powerful champion of the Reformation. Equally distinguished as a divine, a poet, an orator, and a critic, no individual contributed more to enlighten and adorn the age in which he lived †. His editions

* Melville's Diary, p. 35.

† Casaubon, in one of his letters, calls Beza, Scaliger, and Thuanus, "the three suns of the learned world." Epist. p. 68. edit. Almeloveen.

of the Greek New Testament, accompanied with a Latin translation and notes, whatever defects may now be discovered in them, were by far the most valuable works which had then appeared in that department of literature; and no person who is well acquainted with the history of sacred criticism and interpretation will allow himself to speak of them with disparagement *. Of his poetical productions it is sufficient to say, that they were admired by the best judges among his contemporaries, and met with the applause of two eminent individuals, who like himself had courted the muse by

——"Siloa's brook, and Jordan's hallow'd tide."

On reading his poems, Flaminius exclaimed, "I see that the muses have at length crossed the Alps†," and Buchanan hesitated not to pronounce him "one of the most singular poets that had been of a long time‡." When we consider these unequivocal testimonies of approbation, we will not feel disposed to pay implicit regard to the caustic remark of the critic, that Beza, by printing his version of the Psalms along with Buchanan's, "led to a comparison which he

* "Quod vero ante eum (Bezam) nemo instituit, ut codices consuleret et crisin Novi Testamenti tractaret, id et ipsum præstitit ille, nactus quosdam codices. Sic parva quidem et tenuia, tamen initia sunt facta Critices N. T., eaque valde laudabilia." Sam. Frid. N. Mori Hermeneutica Novi Test. cura H. C. A. Eichstadt, tom. ii. p. 292. Lips. 1802.

† Theodori Bezæ Poëmat. Item ex Georgio Buchanano aliisque—poetis Excerpta. Epist. Dedic. p. 7. Henr. Steph. 1569.

‡ See the letter of Buchanan to Sir Thomas Randolph; printed in the Appendix.

ought not rashly to have hazarded*." The magnanimity which prompts a man of genius to enter into competition with his illustrious contemporaries prevents him from being meanly mortified when he is excelled by them; and he may at the same time be conscious, and gratified with the consciousness, that his productions are not unworthy of being associated with those to which he willingly yields the palm of superiority. The history of letters, during the period of which we speak, affords many pleasing examples of this species of noble strife and amicable rivalship, to which honourable fame incites her votaries.

> Her Temple's everlasting doors unbarr'd,
> Desert is various, various the reward.
> No little jealousy, no ill-timed sneer,
> No envy there is found, or rival fear.

To these talents and acquirements, and to the most unquestioned piety, Beza added great politeness and affability of manners, which rendered his society and conversation agreeable as well as instructive. He was well born and well educated; and had been admitted to the company both of the great and the learned. By the inhabitants of the city to which he

* Le Clerc, Bibliotheque Choisie, tom. viii. p. 128. He should have said that Beza *permitted* this; for it was Henry Stephens who first published them in the same volume. "Vides, lector, Henr. Stephanum non sine causa Bezæ Poematibus Buchanani et Flaminii ejus familiarium poemata sociavisse." Maittaire, Stephanorum Historia, p. 345.

had devoted his services he was held in veneration; and the manner in which he uniformly received the public and flattering expressions of this feeling contributed to set the purity of his character, and the generosity of his dispositions, in the most striking light*.

Besides attending the sermons and the academical prelections of this eminent individual, Melville had the happiness of being admitted at all times to his private society. The learning, wit, vivacity, and candour, which Melville possessed, would of themselves have recommended him to the notice of one who was so susceptible of impressions from these qualities; but there were other circumstances which contributed to facilitate his access to the good graces of Beza. That reformer was uniformly partial to Scotsmen. He admired the ecclesiastical constitution of Scotland. He had long maintained an in-

* Anton. Fayus, Vita Theod. Bezæ. Bayle, Dict. art. *Beze*. Teissier, Eloges, iv. 484—506. In 1570 the plague raged at Geneva, and one was chosen by lot from the company of ministers to visit those who were infected with that dreadful malady. The Council gave an order that Beza should be exempted from the lot, upon which he appeared before them, and begged that they would withdraw their order, as he looked upon the service as a part of his ministerial function. Accordingly his name was included among those of his brethren. In 1572, the Churches of France requested his assistance at the National Synod of Nismes. The magistrates of Geneva did not think it safe for him to undertake the journey, and proposed that he should send them his advice in writing. Beza convinced them that this would not answer the purpose, and after a long debate they consented that he should go. Recueil de diverses particularitez concernant Geneve: 20 Feb. 1570; and 21 Apr. 1572. MS.

timate friendship with two of the most illustrious individuals in that nation, Knox and Buchanan. And there was at that time in Geneva another Scotsman, a relation of Melville, with whom he had lived for many years as a colleague, and whom he revered for his talents and virtues.

This was Henry Scrimger, whose exertions for the revival of letters reflected great honour on Scotland, although his name is now known to few of his countrymen. He was the son of Walter Scrimger of Glasswell, a branch of the honourable family of Diddup, in which the offices of Royal Standard-bearer and of Constable of Dundee, had long been hereditary. Having finished his course of education with applause at St Andrews *, he went to the university of Paris, from which he removed to Bourges to prosecute the study of Civil Law under Baro and Duaren. By the recommendation of the celebrated Amiot, then professor of Greek at Bourges, and afterwards raised to the highest offices, he became tutor to the children of Secretary Boucherel. In this situation he gave such satisfaction that he was chosen private secretary to the bishop of Rennes, upon his appointment as ambassador from the court of France to different states of Italy. During a visit to Padua he saw the noted Francis Spira, who died under great horror of mind in consequence of his recantation of the protestant religion. This scene produced the same effect upon Scrimger's

* See Note G.

mind which it did on Vergerius, bishop of Capo d'Istria, and Gribaldus, a lawyer of Padua; and he determined to sacrifice the prospects which his present situation held out to him, and to return to Switzerland, where he might profess the reformed sentiments with safety. Being invited to Augsbourg by the Fuggers, a family who had raised a princely fortune from the mines of the Tyrol, and expended it in the advancement of literature*, Scrimger furnished the library of Ulrich Fugger with the rarest books and manuscripts. During his travels in Italy he had collected ample materials for correcting the works of the ancients, and particularly those of Greece†. He published an edition of the *Novellæ Constitutiones* of Justinian in Greek, which was prized by the first lawyers of the time; and the editions of several of the classics published by Henry Stephens were enriched with the various readings and remarks which he liberally communicated to that learned printer. In 1563, Calvin persuaded him to come to Geneva. The magistrates conferred on him the freedom of the city; and, after he had taught for two years as professor of philosophy, they appointed him to the newly erected chair of the Civil Law, which he filled till his death‡.

* Shelhorn, Amœnitates Hist. Ecclesiasticæ, i. 719. The same author has collected various facts respecting this family in his *Amœnitates Literariæ*.

† See under Note G.

‡ Maittaire. Hist. Stephan. passim. Senebier, Catalogue

As Melville's elder brother had been married to a sister of Scrimger, he had the readiest access to the conversation of his venerable countryman, which was highly valuable from the knowledge which he had acquired during his travels, and to his library, which was stored with the best and rarest books, both printed and in manuscript. He was a frequent visitor at his lodgings in town, and also at the *Violet*, a neat villa which Scrimger had built within a league of Geneva, and where he chiefly resided during the last years of his life, with his wife and an only daughter *.

At Geneva Melville had the happiness to become personally acquainted with several other individuals well known in the learned world, some of whom afterwards corresponded with him. Among these was Lambert Danæus, who was at that time associated with Beza in teaching theology, and afterwards dis-

Raisonné des Manuscrits de Geneve, p. 285. From Calvin's letter, dated 27th October 1562, it appears that Scrimger was not then at Geneva. But in another work, Senebier states (apparently from the public records) that he was admitted professor of philosophy at Geneva in 1561, and that the freedom of the city was conferred on him in the course of the same year. Histoire Litteraire, i. 397. Among the witnesses to Calvin's Testament, made 26th April, 1564, we find "spectatum virum Henricum Scrimgerum professorem artium," and he is included among those called "cives Genevenses." Beza, Vita Calvini.

* Melville's Diary, p. 35. James Melville mentions only his daughter; but it appears from a letter of Scrimger to Buchanan, that his wife was alive in April 1572, (Buchan. Epist. p. 9.) From Buchanan's letter to him, it would seem that he had lately been bereaved of some of his children. (Ibid. p. 8.)

charged the same office in the university of Leyden*. The learned printer, Henry Stephens, took particular notice of our young countryman, and spoke of him in the most flattering terms †. He also obtained the friendship of Paulus Melissus, celebrated for his Latin odes, and translation of the Psalms into German verse ‡. James Lectius, equally distinguished as a politician and a scholar, whose name is associated with those of Bonnivard, Roset, and other patriots, in the history of his country, and who was permitted, by way of singular honour, to occupy at the same time a chair in the academy and the highest office in the republic, was the pupil of Melville, for whom he continued ever after to cherish the highest esteem §.

The massacre of the protestants which commenced at Paris on St Bartholomew's Day 1572, and which wrought such woe to France, was the occasion of extending Melville's acquaintance with the learned men of the age. Those who escaped

* Recueil de diverses particularitez concernant Geneve. MS. p. 118. Senebier, Hist. Litt. i. 312.

† Casauboni Epist. p. 129. Edit. Almeloveen.

‡ Adami Vitæ Germanorum Philosophorum, p. 448. Among the poems of Melissus is one inscribed 'Ad Andr. Melvinum Celurcanum." Melissi Schediasmatvm Poeticorvm Pars Tertia, p. 226. Lvtetiæ Parisiorum, 1586.

§ See a letter from Lectius in the Appendix. Casauboni Epistolæ, p. 129. An account of the writings and employments of Lectius may be seen in Senebier, ii. 54—61. A great many letters which passed between him and Casaubon are in the collection of Almeloveen.

the dagger of the murderer took refuge in Geneva, whose gates were thrown open to receive them. One hundred and twenty French ministers were at one time in the city. The academy overflowed with students, and the magistrates were unable to provide salaries for the learned men whom they were desirous to employ, or to find situations for such as were willing to teach without receiving any remuneration *. Among those who obtained public appointments was Joseph Scaliger, the first scholar of the age, and a man of real genius, although he devoted his talents chiefly to the dry study of criticism and illustration of ancient authors †. Melville's acquaintance with Scaliger had commenced two years before this period, during a visit which that

* See two letters of Beza to Thomas Von Til. Illustr. et Clar. Viror. Epistolæ Selectiores, pp. 615—620. Scaligerana, Thuana, &c. tom. ii. p. 344. Scaliger has preserved the curious fact, that the Dutchess of Savoy sent 4000 florins annually for the relief of the French refugees at Geneva. Beza was the only minister acquainted with this charitable deed during the life of the Dutchess. In one of Beza's letters above referred to we find another singular fact. The city of Geneva had been grievously afflicted with the plague during the greater part of two years, but this dreadful malady disappeared upon the arrival of the persecuted fugitives.

† He was admitted professor of Philosophy in October 1572, and continued to read lectures in the academy during two years. Senebier, Hist. Litter. ii. 10. and Scaligerana Secunda, art. *Geneve*. Chauffepié and Burman, who have referred his residence at Geneva to another period, have suffered themselves to be misled by trusting to inferences from letters without dates.

learned man paid to Geneva*. All the recommendatory verses prefixed to a collection of his father's poems, which he published during his exile, proceeded from Melville's pen †. Among the refugees there were also two civilians, distinguished for their talents and erudition; Francis Hottoman, who had taught with high reputation at Bourges and Valence, and Edmond Bonnefoy, the colleague of the great Cujacius. The latter had run the greatest risk in the massacres, and was protected from the fanatical fury of the people by Cujacius, who esteemed him so highly as to declare that if he were dying, and desired, like Aristotle, to say who was most fit to succeed to his chair, he would name Bonnefoy ‡. A compliment not less flattering is paid him by the enlightened De Thou, who has recorded, in his history, that he

* Scaliger has mentioned his being at Geneva in 1570. Scaligerana, Thuana, &c. tom. ii. p. 344.

† Jvlii Cæsaris Scaligeri Poemata—Genevæ 1575. 8vo.—The epigrams are inscribed "Andr. Melvinvs Celurcanus." In the College Library of Edinburgh there is a copy of the work which had belonged to Melville, and has his autograph on the title page. He has transcribed some poems on the blank leaves at the beginning of the book, and has written notes on the margin, consisting partly of emendations of the text, and partly of references to ancient authors whom Scaliger had imitated. To the subscription of the epigrams he has added with his pen "ad Lemannum," to intimate that he was then resident at Geneva. "Celurcanus" means *anative of Montrose.*

Nobilis urbs *rosei* jam gaudet nominem *montis*,
Quæ prius a cœlo dicta *Celurca* fuit.

Ar. Jonstoni Poemata Omnia, p. 452. Middelb. 1642.

Two of these epigrams by Melville are republished in *Delitiæ Poetarum Scotorum*, tom. ii. p. 344.

‡ Cujacii Observationes, Cap. vi.

was the scholar of Bonnefoy, and owed more to him than to any other man *. So zealous were the magistrates of Geneva to encourage science, that, in the midst of their poverty, they allotted handsome salaries to these two civilians, only requiring that the citizens should be admitted gratis to their lectures. Hottoman lectured twice a-week on Roman Law, and Bonnefoy thrice a-week on Oriental Jurisprudence, a science of which he may be regarded as the founder, and for which he was eminently qualified by his knowledge of the languages of the East †.

We are expressly informed that Melville heard the lectures of Hottoman ‡, and there can be little doubt that he also availed himself of the opportunity of attending those of Bonnefoy, which were still more intimately connected with those studies to which he had now devoted his chief attention.

I have gone into these details not merely as illustrative of the literary history of the period, but also as serving to throw light on the future conduct of Melville. We shall find him taking a deep interest in the political transactions of his native country; and the facts which we have produced tend to shew that he was not unqualified by his education for judging on this subject. The

* Thuani Hist. ad ann. 1574. Teissier, iii. 33—4.

† Hottoman's salary was 800 florins, and Bonnefoy's 700, a-year. Recueil de diverses particularitez conc. Geneve, p. 118. Senebier, i. 327. ii. 7, 8.

‡ Melville's Diary, p. 35.

studies of the learned in that age were more universal, and the common ground on which men of different professions met was more extended than at present. Every person versant in its literary history must have been particularly struck with the union of the study of theology and law. Law, when properly viewed, is a noble and in some sense a divine science. When, instead of being made to rest on the arbitrary dictates of mere will, whether exerted by individuals or communities, on the prescriptions of custom, or on the uncertain deductions of indeterminable expediency, the Law of Nations is founded, as it always ought to be, on the Law of Nature, and the eternal principles of equity and justice, sanctioned by the Supreme Legislator, the study of it is closely allied to that of theology. And to represent them as discordant, or as incapable of affording aid to each other, is to injure both, and is as absurd as it would be to divorce and dissever the great ends which they respectively aim at, the promoting of the temporal and spiritual welfare of mankind. We meet with few of the writers at this period who excelled in one of these branches without being also well acquainted with the other. As religion is the common concern of all men, and as the public mind was then deeply interested in the controversies relating to it, we are not greatly surprized at the accounts which are given of the extensive acquaintance with the Scriptures, and with Ecclesiastical History, which was possessed by many distinguished civilians and statesmen—by such

men as Hottoman and Godefroy and Grotius, Languet and Mornay and St Aldegonde. But we are not equally prepared to admit the statement, although well authenticated, that the chief divines of the reformed church were intimately acquainted with the principles of jurisprudence, and qualified, by the course of study which they had pursued, to give their advice on questions relating to government and the administration of laws. Not to mention Calvin, Beza, and other foreign theologians, it would be easy to establish the fact by referring to not a few in our own country, as Row, Craig, Pont, Arthbuthnot, and Adamson. This may be ascribed partly to the passion which those who addicted themselves to learning at that period felt to "intermeddle with all knowledge;" and partly to the superior gratification which this manly study yielded in comparison with the dry and disgusting logic which had so long been exclusively cultivated in the schools. But it is chiefly to be traced to a new feeling which recent events had produced, and which had for its direct object the promotion of the public good. This was the effect of the late reformation of religion; and at the same time one of the moral forces by which that mighty revolution exerted its influence upon the sentiments of mankind in favour of civil liberty and the amelioration of government. It is a favourite maxim with many in the present day, that the benefits which we owe to the Reformation are to be regarded as the ulterior and remote results of that event, rather than effects

contemplated and intended by the Reformers. It would be absurd to give an absolute negative to this proposition; but there is much less truth in it than those who announce it with such oracular importance imagine. Many of those actions which we are apt to impute to turbulence, or to clerical ambition and officiousness, and which we are prone to stigmatize as the offspring of bigotry and intolerance, we would, if better acquainted with the principles of the actors, and more attentive to the circumstances in which they were placed, see reason to ascribe to more enlightened views.

It was at Geneva that Knox felt the hallowed flame of liberty kindle in his breast, and while he breathed the free air of that republic he conceived the enterprise of breaking the fetters of religious and political bondage by which his native country was enthralled. Since his leaving it, the spirit of freedom had expanded itself, and during the two last years that Melville resided there, an event had occurred which enables us to ascertain its force. To assert, as some have done, that the violent and sanguinary measures to which tyrants have recourse always defeat themselves, would be only to foster delusion; for history demonstrates that they have on the contrary often proved too successful. At the same time it is true, that, under the direction of a merciful Providence, they have sometimes led to more happy results. This was particularly the case as to the horrid scenes which disgraced France in 1572. The sensation produced by them was simul-

taneously felt at the most distant extremities of Europe. In Poland it excited alarm and disgust at the idea of receiving a king from a court polluted with blood and perfidy *. In Scotland it crushed the hopes of a party which laboured to restore popery and arbitrary power. In the Low Countries it confirmed the inhabitants in their resolution to release themselves from the tyrannical yoke of Spain. And it disposed the court of England to afford these patriots the assistance necessary for enabling them to recover their liberties.

But it was at Geneva that this feeling operated with full force. In a city composed of freemen and protestants, the conduct of the French court excited the strongest indignation, and was universally execrated. Smarting under the injuries which they had suffered, the refugees denounced the tyranny of the rulers who had inflicted them, and pointed to the only remedy by which the evil could be effectually corrected. Those who had af-

* I allude particularly to a fact which appears to have been hitherto concealed in the registers of Geneva. It is known, that the Duke of Anjou, brother of Charles IX. and afterwards Henry III. of France, had offered himself as a candidate for the vacant throne of Poland. In April 1573, the protestants in Poland wrote to the ministers of Geneva requesting to be fully informed respecting the massacres in France, and the real authors of them, that they might take their measures accordingly in the approaching election of a new king. The ministers laid the letters before the Council, who did not judge it prudent to return an answer in writing, but sent a person qualified for giving them the information which they required. Recueil de diverses particularitez concernant Geneve, p. 119. MS.

forded them an asylum were prepared to sympathize with their feelings and sentiments. The most important and delicate questions respecting government—the origin of power, the best mode of conveying it, its just limits, and the right of subjects to resist its abuse—became the topics of discourse, and were discussed with a freedom and boldness which could only have been tolerated in a republican state, and exemplified at a period when the public mind was in a state of high excitement. It was at this time that Hottoman composed his *Franco-gallia*, a work which resembles the political treatises of Buchanan * and of Languet †, in the questions which it agitates, and the principles of freedom which it lays down and defends. At the same time, and in the same strain, did Beza compose a tract which the magistrates of Geneva suppressed from prudential considerations, while they pronounced an approbation of the principles which it contained ‡. Peter Charpentier, a mercenary renegado, insulted the city which had formerly honoured him with an academical chair §, by addres-

* *De Jure regni apud Scotos.*

† *Vindiciæ contra Tyrannos;* published by him under the fictitious name of *Junius Brutus.*

‡ See Note H.

§ Charpentier was for some time the colleague of Henry Scrimger, in the profession of Civil Law, at Geneva. Senebier, Hist. Litter. i. 51, 326. He was the son of James Charpentier, who is charged with having revenged his literary quarrels with Ramus, by instigating his scholars to murder that philosopher, during the cannibal-scenes exhibited in Paris. Bayle, art. *Ramée* and *Charpentier.*

sing to Portus, the professor of Greek at Geneva, an apology for the massacre of St Bartholomew, in which he insidiously attempted to shew, that there were two classes of protestants in France, a political and a religious, and that the late ebullition of public vengeance was directed solely against those who had made religion a cloak to their treasonable designs. Though foreign to his profession and studies, Portus took up the pen, and in a reply, breathing keen but virtuous indignation, defended the innocence of the sufferers, and exposed the malignant falsehoods and stale sophistry of their base and unprincipled calumniator *.

How deeply Melville's mind was impressed with these sentiments, appears from the uniform zeal which he afterwards shewed for the liberties of his country, and the firm resistance which he opposed to popery and arbitrary power. It was also displayed in the poems which he composed at this time; in which he celebrated the memory of the late martyrs, and bitterly execrated the cruelty of their persecutors. The two following epigrams may serve as a specimen, and bear strong marks of his detestation of tyranny.

Classicum.

Ad libertatem quid obest tibi, Gallia? Vis, fraus,
Et lupus, et lupa †, cum sanguineis catulis.
Ad libertatem quid adest tibi, Gallia? Jus, fas,
Mensque manusque virum. Nunc quid abest? Animus.

* Franc. Porti, Cretensis, Responsio ad Epistol. Petri Carpentarii. Genev. 1572.

† Cathèrine of Medicis, the Queen-mother of France.

Tyrannis.

Tarquinii de stirpe truces cum terra tyrannos
Tot ferat; acri unus pectore Brutus ubi est?

In the year 1572, Alexander Young came to Geneva with letters to his uncle, Henry Scrimger *, from the Regent Mar and Buchanan, requesting his return to his native country, and promising him the most honourable and liberal encouragement. Buchanan had before repeatedly written him to the same purpose, and the manner in which he urged his request evinced at the same time his own patriotism and his high esteem for Scrimger. But that venerable scholar continued to excuse himself by pleading the confusions of Scotland and his own advanced age †. For several years Melville had almost forgotten his native country, in the ardour with which he applied to his studies and the discharge of his academical duty. The memory of it, and of the friends whom he had not seen for many years, was now revived by the conversation of Young, and when the latter returned to Scotland, he sent letters by him to his brothers, acquainting them with his situation. As they had not heard of him for a long time, and feared he had lost his life in the troubles of France, they were overjoyed to learn

* Alexander Young, was the brother of Peter Young, Buchanan's colleague in the education of James VI. Their mother was *Margaret Scrimger*, sister to Henry Scrimger. Smith, Vita Petri Junii, pp. 3, 4.

† Buchanani, Epist. pp. 7—10.

that he was alive, and in great estimation at Geneva. Upon Young's paying a second visit to that city, Melville received the most affectionate letters from them, and pressing invitations to return home. Among the rest was a letter from one of his nephews, then a student at St Andrews; and the ingenuous manner in which the young man described the state of education in Scotland, and spoke of the benefit which it would derive from a person of such learning as he was told his uncle possessed, had no small influence in disposing him to think seriously of returning to Scotland.

About the same time Alexander Campbell, who, though a youth, had been presented to the bishopric of Brechin *, visited Geneva in his travels, accompanied by Andrew Polwart, as his tutor. The solicitations of Polwart, with whom he had been acquainted at the university of St Andrews, joined to the urgent request of his own friends, determined Melville to return to Scotland, and to devote the knowledge which he had acquired abroad to the service of his country. This resolution he respectfully intimated to his colleagues, and to the magistrates, as patrons of the academy, requesting their permission to demit the office with which they had honoured him. His request was reluctantly granted with expressions of their sorrow at losing him, and ample

* "Alexander Campbell of Carco, sumetyme bischop of Brichen—deceisit in his place of carco w^t in ye parish of Kinclevin in ye moneth of Febr. 1608." Testament Testamentar, in Records of Commissary Court of Edinburgh, 23 Junij. 1608.

testimonials of their approbation and esteem. Beza, in a letter addressed to the General Assembly, among other expressions of the same tenor, testified, that Andrew Melville was "equally distinguished by his piety and his erudition; and that the Church of Geneva could not give a stronger proof of affection to her sister Church of Scotland than by suffering herself to be bereaved of him that his native country might be enriched with his gifts *."

It was not without feelings of tender regret that Melville parted from Geneva, and the friends whom he had gained during his residence in it. In the subsequent period of his life he frequently traced the scene in his imagination, and relieved his mind, amidst his labours and anxieties, by thinking of the place where he had spent his happiest years in the peaceful pursuits of learning, and in the society of some of the greatest and best men of the age. The subject is more than once introduced in his poetical pieces, and always with tenderness and enthusiasm. In a poem to the memory of John Lindsay, one of his countrymen who died at Geneva, he pays an affectionate tribute to the most distinguished individuals whom he had known in that city. This is introduced by a deploration of the massacres which had so long disgraced the neighbouring kingdom of France, and which were painfully associated with the delightful recollections which the thoughts of Geneva excited in his breast. In the same poem he

* Melville's Diary, p. 35.

commemorates several of his countrymen, who, like Lindsay, had finished their days at Geneva *.

Melville left Geneva in spring 1574, along with Polwart and his pupil, the bishop of Brechin. They took the way of Lyons; and, traversing Franche-compte, descended the Loire to Orleans. During a part of their journey they were accompanied by three Frenchmen, a priest, a physician, and an officer of the army, all zealous Roman Catholics. Before they parted, Melville had made the military gentleman almost a protestant; and partly by argument, and partly by good humoured raillery, he prevailed so far over the prejudices of the other two, as that they had no objection to eat flesh on Friday, a practice which they at first regarded with much horror.

As the civil war was still raging in many parts of France, a vigilant eye was kept on such strangers as came to Orleans. When our travellers approached that city, the soldier on guard allowed the bishop and Polwart, who were on foot, to pass, but stopped Melville, who, having sprained his foot, was on horseback. To the question, "Whence are you?" Melville replied, "From Scotland."—"O! you Scots are all Hugonots."—"Hugonots! What's that? We do not know such people in Scotland."—"You have no mass," said the soldier—"*Vous vous n'avez pas la Messe.*"—"No *mess*, man," replied Melville merrily; "our children in Scot-

* See Note I.

land go to mess every day."—"*Bon compagnon, allez vous;*" said the soldier smiling, and beckoning to him to proceed. When he reached the house at which they had previously agreed to lodge, he found his two countrymen in great trepidation lest their papers should have been examined, and disposed to laugh heartily at the equivoque by which they had escaped detection. They had reason to congratulate themselves, if the report of their landlord was to be credited; for he assured them that several persons had of late lost their lives for as small an offence as that of having come from Geneva. On leaving Orleans next day they were thrown anew into consternation, by unexpectedly falling in with a procession of the host, when they were again relieved from their embarrassment by the promptitude and address of Melville*.

At Paris they met with a great many of their countrymen, and resolved to spend some time in the French capital. At the desire of Lord Ogilvy, Melville went to the Jesuits' College, and meeting with Father Tyrie, was involved in a public dispute with that eager polemic. The dispute was continued during several days, but the archbishop of Glasgow, being informed of it, let fall some threatening expressions, which coming to the ears of Melville's friends, they persuaded him to leave the place as quickly as possible. Accordingly he left Paris on the 30th of May, and proceeding with his former companions to Dieppe, sailed to Ry, and

* Melville's Diary, pp. 35, 36.

arrived safely in London. On the day that they quitted Paris, the French king, Charles IX., who had rendered himself so odious by his tyranny and cruelty, died of an issue of blood, which burst from all the apertures of his body.

After remaining a short time in London, our travellers purchased horses, and took their journey by Berwick to Edinburgh; where Melville arrived in the beginning of July 1574, after an absence of ten years from his native country *.

* Melville's Diary, p. 36.

CHAPTER II.

1574—1580.

Melville declines an offer from the Regent Morton—retires to Baldovy—superintends the studies of his nephew—James Melville—applications to the General Assembly for Melville's services—he visits Glasgow—is introduced to the young king—is admitted Principal of the university of Glasgow—history of that university—his plan for recovering it from the decayed state into which it had fallen—new mode of instruction introduced by him—effects of it—individuals educated under him at Glasgow—Nova Erectio—literary conversation—Peter Blackburn—John Colville—college discipline—Mark Alexander Boyd—instance of Melville's intrepidity in maintaining the authority of the university—charged with advising the demolition of the Cathedral of Glasgow—receives his library from Geneva—university library—Carmen Mosis.

Melville had scarcely arrived at Edinburgh, when he was waited on by George Buchanan, Alexander Hay, clerk to the Privy Council, and Colo-

nel James Halyburton, on the part of the Regent Morton. They proposed that he should act as domestic instructor to the Regent, promising that he should be advanced to a situation more suited to his merit, as soon as a vacancy occurred. Morton had himself no taste for letters, and was not disposed, as his predecessors were, to be liberal to learned men. But his sagacity convinced him of the influence which they exerted over the minds of others, and of the importance of attaching them to his interests. When individuals distinguished for their literary acquirements came into the kingdom, it was therefore his policy to draw them to court, to ascertain their dispositions, and, on finding them pliable to his wishes, to advance them to benefices in the church. Melville was at that time a stranger to the Regent's plans, but he was decidedly averse to a residence at court. He preferred an academical life; one principal object which he had in view in returning to his native country, was to assist in the revival of its literature; and his highest ambition was to obtain in one of the universities a situation similar to that of Royal Professor at Paris. He therefore respectfully declined the proposal made to him in the name of the Regent, and requested permission to spend some time with his relations, from whom he had been so long absent, before he accepted of any public employment.

He went accordingly to Angus, and took up his residence with his elder brother at Baldovy, where he had spent his early years. During the following

three months he amused himself with superintending the studies of one of his nephews, whom Richard Melville resigned to him as a pledge of fraternal love, and charged to "wait upon him as a son and servant." This was the young man whose letter had such influence in inducing his uncle to quit Geneva, who afterwards became his academical assistant, and his faithful adherent in all the hardships which he suffered, and to whose zealous and grateful affection we are indebted for the most important particulars of his life, and the most interesting traits of his character. As we shall frequently have occasion to speak of this amiable individual, it is proper to introduce him to the acquaintance of the reader.

James Melville was the son of Richard Melville and Isabel Scrimger, and was born at Baldovy on the 25th of July, 1556. His early education * was marred by the change of his teachers, and on entering the College of St Leonards in 1571, he was so mortified at finding that he was incapable of understanding the lectures, which were delivered in Latin, that he burst into tears before the whole class. This attracted the notice of his regent, William Collace, who, pleased with this trait of youthful sensibility, kindly condescended to give him private instructions, and to provide him with an assistant, until he had surmounted the difficulties under which he laboured †. His mind was early impressed with

* See above p. 7.

† Melville's Diary, p. 22.

a deep sense of religion, and a strong desire to devote himself to the preaching of the gospel. This desire was in a great measure the effect of the sermons which he heard from John Knox at St Andrews; and it remained unabated notwithstanding what he witnessed of the poverty and hardships of the protestant ministers. His father, however, intended him for the more lucrative profession of the law, and had fixed on a man of business in Edinburgh with whom he should serve as an apprentice. Richard Melville was an excellent man, and an affectionate father, but he had higher notions of parental authority, and kept his children in greater subjection, than are altogether consistent with the liberal notions of the age we live in. Being restrained by bashfulness, and the deference he had always been accustomed to pay to his father's will, James had recourse to an innocent stratagem to intimate his predilection for a different line of employment. He composed a sermon on a passage of Scripture, in the best manner of which he was capable, and put it carefully into one of the Commentaries which he knew his father was in the habit of consulting in his weekly preparations for the pulpit. The expedient succeeded according to his wish. For Richard Melville having once ascertained the decided inclinations of his son, and being pleased with the juvenile specimen of his gifts, was too wise and too good to persist in carrying his own plans into execution. The apprenticeship was no more talked of; but still a due regard was paid to parental dignity and

the good of the young man, by keeping him for some time in suspense as to his father's intentions. The arrival of Andrew Melville put an end to this reserve. James was now told that he was at full liberty to follow his own inclinations, and to his great joy, was delivered over to his uncle, in the manner we have already stated, instead of being bound to the barrister *

Notwithstanding the striking resemblance between the uncle and nephew in stature and physiognomy, they differed in mental temperament, perhaps as widely as ever two individuals did who were united by the closest and most inviolable friendship. The talents of James Melville were respectable, without being of the same superior order as those of his uncle. But, though not endowed with great liveliness or force of imagination, he possessed a sound judgment, and a heart tenderly susceptible of all the benevolent and social affections. His temper was mild, his manners courteous, and he was capable of exerting great authority over others because he had the complete command of himself. To these amiable qualities were united a guileless uprightness, and an unshaken constancy in maintaining the friendships which he contracted, and adhering to the cause which his convictions led him to espouse. He was accordingly fitted for becoming a most useful companion to his uncle, who did not uniformly study the *molliter in verbis*, and was apt to be involved in difficulties by

* Melville's Diary, pp. 21—31.

an impetuosity of temper which he was not always able to command, and was sometimes unwilling to restrain.

James Melville had lately finished his course of philosophy at the university of St Andrews, and, though a modest youth, flattered himself that he was capable of professing those liberal arts of which he had been declared a master by the first literary authority in the land. But a few hours' conversation with his new instructor dispelled this pleasing dream, and convinced him that he needed yet to begin his studies. There is something interesting in the artless manner in which he relates what he felt on making this discovery, and describes, from his first impressions, the eminent qualifications which his uncle possessed for a task in which he spent the greater part of his life *.

Melville was not permitted long to enjoy his retirement at Baldovy. Beza's letter to the General Assembly, and the report of Polwart and the bishop of Brechin, spread the fame of his erudition through the country. At the Assembly which met in August he was much talked of, and applications for his services were made from different quarters. The commissioners of the Synod of Fife were instructed to request that he might be granted to them, with the view of his being appointed Provost of St Mary's College, St Andrews, in the room of archbishop Douglas, who had just died †. A

* See Note K.

† Douglas died on the last day of July 1574. Act Buik of

similar application was made in behalf of the University of Glasgow; and archbishop Boyd, and Andrew Hay, commissioner of the west, urged so strongly the ruined state into which that seminary had fallen, that its claims were preferred to those of St Andrews. To secure their object they prevailed upon such of Melville's relations as were present to use their influence to induce him to comply with the recommendation which they had obtained from the Assembly *. The Assembly conferred a mark of their approbation on him by inserting his name, though he had not yet been present with them, among the examinators of a poetical work, before its publication †. It deserves notice that this Assembly recognized the doctor, or interpreter of Scripture, as a distinct functionary of the church, and petitioned the Regent to appoint competent

the Commissariot of St Andrews, 19th Feb. 1574.—When admitted to the bishopric, Douglas promised to resign the offices of rector of the university, and provost of St Mary's College; and complaints were at different times made on him at the General Assembly for continuing to retain them. Calderwood, MS. Hist. vol. ii. pp. 344—428.

* Melville's Diary, p. 29, 30.

† "For revewing and sighting of the history of Job compiled be Mr Patrick Adamsone in Latine verse the present Assembly hath willed their loved brethren and the right honourable Mr George Buchanan, keeper of the privy seal, Mr Peter Young Pedagogue to our Soveraign Lord, Mr Andrew Melvill, Mr James Lawson, minister of Edinburgh, to take travell in perusing of the said book, and if the same be found be thame agreeable to the truth of Gods word to authorize the samine with testimony of their hand writ and subscription." Cald. MS. vol. ii. p. 465.

salaries for such learned men as were willing to discharge this office in the universities *.

In consequence of a pressing invitation from the patrons of the University, Melville paid a visit to Glasgow; and, after conversing with them, and making some necessary arrangements, he agreed to return, and undertake the office of Principal. Accordingly, in the end of October, he took leave of his affectionate brother (who died soon after †) and set out for Glasgow, attended by James Melville. By the way he stopped two days at Stirling, and was introduced to the young king, who had entered the ninth year of his age,—" the switest sight in Europe that day for strange and extraordinar gifts of ingyne, judgment, memorie, and language!" says James Melville, who was admitted to see him along with his uncle: " I hard him discourse, walking up and down in the auld Lady Marr's hand, of knawlege and ignorance, to my grait marvell and astonishment." No doubt this astonishment was greatly heightened by the reflection that the young philosopher was a king; but the truth is, that James did at this time exhibit symptoms of more than ordinary talents, and his teachers were highly gratified at the proficiency which he made under their tuition. At Stirling, Melville found Buchanan engaged, at leisure hours, in writing his History of Scotland, and, having taken his advice on the plan of education which he

* Buik of the Universal Kirk, p. 60, b.

† Richard Melville died in June 1575. Diary, p. 14, 41.

intended to follow, proceeded to Glasgow. Thomas Buchanan, the nephew of the poet, went along with him to be present at his installation *.

Before proceeding to state what Melville did for the University of Glasgow, it will be proper to take a brief review of the previous history of that seminary.

At the solicitation of William Turnbull †, bishop of Glasgow, Pope Nicholas V. granted a bull, dated the 7th of January 1450, constituting "a General Study for theology, canon and civil law, the arts, and every other useful faculty," at Glasgow; and granting to it all the rights and privileges belonging to the University of Bologna. In the following year a body of statutes for its government was prepared by the bishop and his chapter, which, together with the papal bull, were confirmed, in 1453, by a Royal Charter from king James II. During the two first years of its erection more than a hundred individuals were incorporated into it; but the most of these were not young men commencing their studies, but secular or regular ecclesiastics, who became members chiefly for the sake of the honour attached to a learned corporation, or of the immunities to which it entitled them. The annals of the University are sufficiently copious in information respecting its government, but they are almost entirely silent as to what is more important, the

* Melville's Diary, p. 39.

† See List of persons educated at St Andrews, in the Appendix.

means of instruction which it provided, and the mode in which that instruction was conveyed. So far as we can collect from scattered hints, it would seem that there was no stated or regular teaching in the higher faculties. The zeal of individuals prompted them to read occasional lectures, the continuance of which depended on the caprice of the hearers, whose attendance on them was optional. "On the 29th of July 1460, a venerable man, Master David Cadyow, precentor of the church of Glasgow, and rector of the university, read, in the chapter-house of the Predicant Friars of Glasgow, at 9 o'clock ante meridiem, the title or rubric in the third book (of the Canon Law), *De vita et honestate clericorum*, in the presence of all the clergy and masters; and he continued at the pleasure of the hearers." On the same day, and in the same house, Master William de Levenax read a title in the Civil Law. The first notice of any lecture on theology is at a much later period. "On the 23d of March, 1521, a religious man, Father Robert Lile, of the order of Predicant Friars, bachelor of theology, and prior of the Convent of Glasgow, began, *pro forma*, to read a lecture on the fourth book of the Sentences, in the foresaid monastery, in presence of the rector, dean of faculty, and the rest of the masters; John Ade, professor of theology, and provincial of the whole order in Scotland, presiding at the time." The want of salaries to the professors was doubtless one great reason of the rarity of these lectures. Bishop Turnbull died before he had an opportunity

of carrying his munificent purposes into execution *; and the defect was not supplied by his successors, or by the government. With the exception of certain small perquisites paid at promotions to degrees, the University, as such, was destitute of funds, and the professors of divinity, and of canon and civil law, depended for their support on the benefices which they held as ecclesiastics in various parts of the kingdom.

Happily more attention had been paid to the inferior branches of science. These were taught at an early period; for the records mention the admission of a regent of philosophy within two years after the erection of the University †. It is probable that bishop Turnbull had founded the Pædagogium, or College, in which the students of the liberal arts lived together with the masters who superintended their education. They resided in a house situated on the south side of the Rottenrow, until a benefaction from Lord Hamilton enabled them to remove to the situation which the college occupies at present. By means of donations and bequests from different

* D. Buchananus de Scriptoribus Scot. Art. De D. Turnbullo. MS. in Bibl. Col. Edinb. Bishop Turnbull died in 1454.

† "Congregatione facultatis artium tenta &c. 1452. 28vo. Julij, supplicavit venerabilis et religiosus vir Dominus Alexander Geddes, licentiatus in theologia, monachus de Melross, pro licentia exponendi textum Aristotelis pro ——— cujus supplicationi facultas favorabiliter inclinata illam quam petiit salvis suis privilegiis duntaxat sibi contulit potestatem" Act. Fac. Art. Glasg. This was the usual way of admitting a regent to teach a course of philosophy.

individuals, moderate provision was made for the continuance of regular instruction in the College *. Some idea may be formed of the nature of this instruction from the lists, inserted in the notes, containing the titles of books presented for the use of the regents †. The number of students was small; and we find few persons of note who were educated at Glasgow. Among these were bishop Elphingston, Chancellor of Scotland, and founder of the University and King's College of Aberdeen; William Manderston, doctor of medicine, and successively rector of the Universities of Paris and St Andrews; Cardinal Beaton; John Knox, the Reformer; and John Spottiswood, the Superintendent of Lothian. Its most distinguished professors, anterior to the Reformation, were John Major, David Melville, and John Ade or Adamson ‡.

The University of Glasgow, from its peculiar constitution, necessarily suffered more from the change of religion at the Reformation than the other learned establishments of Scotland. The professors in the higher branches being all supported by their livings in the church, and adhering to the old religion, successors could not be appointed to them owing to the total want of salaries. It was so far a favourable

* Chaplainries, for the benefit of the regents, were founded at different times. Thomas Arthurlie bequeathed a tenement to the college. And in 1557, archbishop Beatoun gave to it the vicarage of Colmonell, which, with the glebe acres, is valued, in the old Rental Book, at £ 44 : 13 : 4. Records of University; and Statist. Account of Scotland, vol. 21. Appendix.

† See Note L. ‡ See Note M.

circumstance that John Davidson, the principal of the college, embraced the reformed doctrines, and continued his academical labours. By this means the most valuable, though not the most dignified part of the academy was preserved from extinction. But it also suffered materially from the fraudulent alienation, or the unjust seizure of its slender revenues. To remedy this evil, the friends of the college obtained from Queen Mary, in 1563, a grant under the privy seal, founding bursaries for five poor scholars, and bestowing certain houses and lands for their support during the time of their education *. In 1572, the town council of Glasgow, perceiving "that the college had fallen into decay for want of funds, and the study of the arts was nearly extinguished in it through poverty," bestowed on it rents which were deemed adequate for the support of fifteen persons †. It might be supposed that these gifts would have been sufficient to place the college on a respectable footing, but all that they could make good, from the whole of their funds, did not amount to more than three hundred pounds Scots annually. The rest had been alienated, and was either irrecoverable, or could be recovered only by tedious processes, and at an expence disproportionate to the subjects in question, and oppressive to the existing members of the University. There was maintenance for only two regents, with almost no provision for bursars. The consequence was, that

* See Note N. † Gibson's Hist. of Glasgow; Appendix.

the students gradually dispersed, and upon the death of principal Davidson, by whose labours the existence of the college had for a number of years been chiefly preserved, the classes were completely broken up*.

Such was the state of the University when Melville came to Glasgow. It was sufficient to discourage a person of ordinary resolution; but such was his zeal for the advancement of letters, and the confidence which he felt in his own resources, that he entered upon the task with the utmost alacrity. It would have been easy for him to have discharged the duties belonging to his own office as principal, and to have left the other branches to be taught by such regents as could be found. A person of this description had been provided by the patrons of the University, and he had already begun to teach according to the mode practised at St Andrews. Allowing him to proceed, and devolving on him the management of the revenues of the college, Melville set himself, with incredible labour, to the execution of a plan, in the formation of which he had availed himself of the most approved practices which he had witnessed in the foreign academies. One great object which he had in view was to train up a number of individuals who should be qualified for acting as assistants to him, and for following out his mode of instruction. For this purpose he commenced with

* Records of the University of Glasgow; Memorial for Dr Trail, and Answers for Dr Leechman, in 1771; and Statist. Acc. of Scotland, vol. 21.

a select class of young men well grounded in the Latin language, and determined to conduct them himself through a regular and complete course of study.

He began by initiating them into the principles of Greek grammar. He then introduced them to the study of Logic and Rhetoric; using, as his text-books, the Dialectics of his Parisian master, Ramus, and the Rhetoric of Talæus *. While they were engaged in these studies, he read with them the best classical authors, as Virgil and Horace among the Latins, and Homer, Hesiod, Theocritus, Pindar, and Isocrates, among the Grecks; pointing out, as he went along, their beauties, and illustrating by them the principles of logic and rhetoric. Proceeding to Mathematics and Geography, he taught the elements of Euclid, with the Arithmetic and Geometry of Ramus, and the Geography of Dionysius. And agreeably to his plan of uniting elegant literature with philosophy, he made the students use the Phænomena of Aratus, and the Cosmographia of Honter †. Moral Philosophy formed the next

* Audomarus Talæus, or Talon, was the scholar, and afterwards the collegue and warm defender of Ramus. Bulæus, Hist. Univ. Paris, vi. 389. His Rhetorica was approved of and taught by some who were strongly prejudiced against the Ramean school of Philosophy.

† Αρατου Σολεως Φαινομενα was first published in the collection of Ancient Geographers printed by Aldus, at Venice, in 1499, and has since been frequently republished. This poem was greatly esteemed by the ancients, is said to have been translated into Latin verse by Cicero, and is quoted by the apostle Paul (who

branch of study; and on this he read Cicero's Offices, Paradoxes, and Tusculan Questions, the Ethics and Politics of Aristotle, and certain of Plato's Dialogues. In Natural Philosophy he made use of Fernelius, and commented on parts of the writings of Aristotle and Plato. To these he added a view of Universal History, with Chronology and the art of Writing. Entering upon the duties of his own immediate profession, he taught the Hebrew language, first more cursorily by going over the elementary work of Martinius, and afterwards by a more accurate examination of its principles, accompanied with a praxis upon the Psalter and books of Solomon. He then initiated the students into Chaldee and Syriac; reading those parts of the books of Ezra and Daniel that are written in Chaldee, and the epistle to the Galatians in the Syriac version. He

was a countryman of the author) in Acts xvii. 28. Aratus, who was both a poet and an astronomer, flourished about the year 270 A. C.

The *Cosmographia* of John Honter was written in Latin verse, and accompanied with maps. He was a celebrated teacher in Transylvania, his native country. David Chytræus visited his academy during his travels in 1569, and speaks in terms of high commendation of his talents, and the utility of his writings. Chytræi Orationes, p. 411. Hanov. 1614.

The attempts to facilitate the study of the sciences by the aid of poetry have been numerous. There is a curious specimen of this kind in a Greek poem on Law, written in the middle ages: Συνοψις των νομων; seu Michaelis Pselli Compendium Legum, versibus Iambis et Politicis; published by Francis Bosquet in 1632, with a Latin translation. With the same view Francesco Berlinghieri composed his *Geografia*, published with maps at Florence in 1480. Roscoe's Lorenzo de Medici, vol. ii. p. 112.

also went through all the common heads of Divinity according to the order of Calvin's Institutions, besides giving lectures on the different books of Scripture *.

This course of study was completed in six years. From the variety of subjects which it embraced, and the number of books read and commented on, some idea may be formed of the extent of his erudition, and the greatness of his labours. During its continuance he ordinarily taught twice every day. On the second year, his nephew, James Melville, began a class, which he instructed in Greek, logic, and rhetoric; and on the following year taught them mathematics and moral philosophy. He was the first regent in Scotland who read the Greek authors to his class in the original language. A sufficient number of regents being obtained, Melville introduced a new regulation as to their mode of teaching. It was the established and invariable practice, in all the universities at that time, for the regent who began a class to continue with it, and to conduct his students through the whole course of studies, until he had prepared them for laureation at the end of four years. Melville was under the necessity of adhering to this practice at his first coming to Glasgow, but he was fully convinced of its tendency to obstruct the advancement of learning, and embraced the first opportunity of abolishing it. Accordingly, in the year 1577, Blaise Laurie was established permanent teacher of Greek, and of Roman Eloquence;

* Melville's Diary, pp, 39, 40.

James Melville of mathematics, logic, and moral philosophy; and Peter Blackburn of physics and astronomy; while the principal confined himself to divinity and the oriental languages. About the time that Melville left Glasgow, the principal was relieved from a part of his extensive duty by the appointment of a separate teacher of Hebrew *. The advantages arising from the introduction of this division of labour into the teaching of the sciences are so apparent, and are now so generally recognized, that it is quite unnecessary to state them.

Enthusiastically attached to the profession which he had chosen, and eager to raise the literary character of his native country to the same rank with that of other nations, Melville soon infused a portion of his ardour into the breasts of his scholars. By the time that he finished his second session, his fame had spread through the kingdom, students came to Glasgow from all quarters, and numbers who had taken their degrees at St Andrews were ambitious to attend his lectures; so that the class-rooms, which had so lately been empty, could not contain those who eagerly sought for admission. "I dare say there was no place in Europe (says James Melville) comparable to Glasgow for good letters, during these years—for a plentiful and good cheap market of all kinds of languages, arts, and sciences †."

A number of individuals who afterwards dis-

* Annales Fac. Art. Glas. Melville's Diary, p. 44.

† Melville's Diary, p. 39.

tinguished themselves were educated under Melville at Glasgow. Among these were Patrick Melville, one of his nephews, who became professor of Hebrew at Glasgow and St Andrews; Andrew Knox, who was successively bishop of the Isles, and of Raphoe in Ireland; Duncan Nairn, who was selected as the best qualified for being the first professor in the college of Edinburgh under principal Rollock; archbishop Spottiswood; Sir Edward Drummond, Sir Gideon Murray, and Sir James Fullerton, who became courtiers to James VI.; and Sir Adam Newton, who, after teaching in his native country and abroad, was appointed tutor and afterwards secretary to Henry, Prince of Wales *.

In 1577, the exertions of Melville contributed to obtain from the Regent a valuable benefaction to the University. This was the living of Govan, in the vicinity of Glasgow, valued at twenty-four chalders of victual annually, although only a small portion of this could be realized for a number of years. Along with this donation, a new foundation, commonly called the *Nova Erectio*, was given to the college by royal charter. It is unnecessary to specify its provisions, as it sanctioned all the arrangements which Melville had already introduced, as to the branches of learning to be taught, and the

* "Patricius Melvin" and "Edwardꝰ Dromond" were made Master of Arts in 1578; "Andræas Knox" in 1579; "Duncanus Narn" in 1580; "Gedeon Murray, Johannes Spottiswood, Jacobus Fullertoun" in 1581; and "Adamꝰ Newtoun" in 1582. Annales Fac. Art. Glasg.

division of them among the several professors. The number of persons now entitled to maintenance from the funds was twelve, including masters, bursars, and servants. The other students either paid for their board at the college table, or lodged at their own expence in the town. In consequence of the new foundation, it became the duty of the principal to preach on Sabbath at the church of Govan *.

It was not by his public instructions only that Melville promoted the cause of literature. He was of a communicative disposition, and equally qualified and disposed for imparting knowledge by private conversation. This appeared in his intercourse with his colleagues, and at the college table, to which such individuals of education as resided in Glasgow and its neighbourhood frequently resorted, to partake of a frugal meal that they might share in the literary desert which was always served up along with it. His conversation was enlivened with amusing anecdotes, smart apothegms, and classical quotations and allusions. He was fond of discussing questions of literature, and had an uncommon faculty of throwing light on them, in the easy and unceremonious form of table-talk. This made the master of the grammar school, who was afterwards principal of the college, to say of these literary conversations, "that he learned more of Mr Andrew Melville, cracking and playing, for understanding of the authors which he taught in the

* Melville's Diary, p. 43, 44. The Nova Erectio is printed in the Appendix to Gibson's History of Glasgow.

school, than by all his Commentators *." Philosophical were mixed with literary topics in these academical recreations. Blackburn, the regent who taught the first class at Melville's coming to Glasgow, was a good man, and far from being unlearned, according to the means of instruction then enjoyed in Scotland; but unacquainted with the world, and consequently dogmatical, and rude in his manners. He was a great stickler for the infallibility of Aristotle as a philosopher, and adhered rigidly to the maxim, *Absurdum est dicere errasse Aristotelem*, which nobody had yet ventured to contradict at St Andrews, where he had taken his degrees †. When the subject was started at the college table, Melville vigorously opposed this sentiment, and produced from the writings of the Stagyrite examples of error that were quite incontrovertible. Being incapable of maintaining his ground by argument, Blackburn was apt to grow angry, and to have recourse to personal reflections, alleging that the principal was proud, arrogant, full of his own opinions, and disposed to set himself up against all the world. Whenever Melville perceived this he dropt the dispute, without making any reply. By this means he gained upon his colleague, who feeling himself reproved and overcome, gradually corrected his rude behaviour, and at

* Melville's Diary, p. 40.

† See List of Persons educated at St Andrews; in the Appendix. Peter Blackburn afterwards became minister of Aberdeen, and was made bishop of that diocese in the beginning of the 17th century.

last became as forward as any in acknowledging the obligations which he lay under to the principal*.

We are not however to conclude from this, that Melville was disposed to sacrifice his sentiments to courtesy and the mere love of peace, or to yield them up in silence to any who chose to oppose them from humour or prejudice. He had higher notions of the rights of truth; and when called upon to act in defence of these, and especially when convinced that they were inseparably connected with the public good, he was ever ready to exert in their maintenance all the energy of his talents, and all the ardour of his feelings. On controverted subjects of a public nature he was patient in his inquiries after the truth; and until his judgment was satisfied, he reasoned with great coolness, and listened with the utmost attention to whatever could be urged against the side to which he might incline. But when he had examined his ground, and was fully convinced of any truth and of its importance, he was accustomed to maintain it tenaciously and boldly; would suffer no man, of whatever rank or authority, to bear away the point in dispute, but defended his opinions with an overwhelming force and fluency of language, accompanied with uncommon energy of voice and vehemence of gesture. Nor was he a less persevering than warm advocate of the cause which he espoused. He was not discouraged by ill success, but returned to the charge with unabated ar-

* Melville Diary, pp. 40, 51.

dour; and wherever an opportunity presented itself, in private or in public, he plied his opponents with arguments, until he either made converts of them, or judged them to be obstinately wedded to their own opinions. It was in this way that he gained over so many of his countrymen to his views, on the public questions which were agitated respecting the government and liberties of the church. "But for his own particular, (says his nephew) in person, geir, or fame, I knew him never heard in publick with any man to this hour *." Such is the view given of this part of his character by one who at least had every advantage for observing it narrowly. We shall have various opportunities of ascertaining how far it is correct, and in what degree that temper and behaviour, which a warm friend may be supposed to have regarded with a favourable eye, calls for our censure or merits our applause.

According to his nephew's statement, Melville was a believer in Oneirology, and expert in the interpretation of dreams. Some of the examples adduced in proof of this, however, would rather incline us to think that he amused himself by a playful exercise of ingenuity instead of pretending to skill in this occult science †. James Melville does more honour to him when he praises his sagacity in discerning the characters of men; and he has certainly produced various instances in which the opinions which he had pronounced on individuals of his

* Melville's Diary, p. 52. † See Note O.

acquaintance was strikingly verified by their subsequent behaviour. One of these occurred at this period, and relates to a person of considerable notoriety in the history of these times. John Colville, being called before the synod of Glasgow for deserting his ministry at Kilbride, gave such plausible reasons for his conduct as satisfied all the members. Melville alone suspected his sincerity, and interrogating him closely, received such answers from Colville as induced him to tell his brethren, that he would not be surprised to see that man renounce the profession of the ministry, and Christianity also*. Colville soon after exchanged the character of the preacher for that of the courtier. Disappointed of his expectations at court he joined in the insurrections of the turbulent Earl of Bothwell. Being driven out of the kingdom along with that nobleman, he professed himself a Roman Catholic, and became a keen writer against the protestant religion †. And all his tergiversations, political and religious, were marked by uncommon want of principle ‡. I mention this trait in Melville's

* Melville's Diary, p. 50.

† The Parenese or Admonition to his Countrymen when he returned to the Catholic Religion by Mr John Colville. Paris, 1602. He had published this work in Latin during the preceding year.

‡ He gave a most singular proof of this in a work entitled *The Palinode* (Edinb. 1600.) which he represents as a refutation of a treatise of his own against James's title to the crown of England, which "in malice, in time of his exile, he had penned." Yet he had penned no such treatise, but merely pretended this to

character the rather, because there is nothing which men bred in colleges and devoted to literary pursuits are more deficient in than the knowledge of human character; in consequence of which they are ordinarily disqualified for the management of public business, and apt to become the dupes of deceitful friends or artful opponents.

As Principal, it was Melville's duty to take an active part in the government of the college. Discipline was then exercised with a great deal more strictness in colleges than it is now. This necessarily arose from the peculiar constitution of such societies, in which a number of young men, many of them boys, did not, as at present, assemble for a few hours every day to receive instruction, but lived constantly together in the same house. While questions of a civil or criminal nature which arose in the college were decided by the rector and his council, it belonged to the principal to preserve common order among the students, and to keep them in due subjection to their respective regents. At his institution he received "power to use scholastical correction and discipline," and, as the badge of this, he had delivered to him "the belt of correction, with the keys of the college *." Accordingly, it

ingratiate himself with James. Spotsw. 457. Charters mentions another work by Colville: "Oratio funebris Exequiis Elizabethæ destinata. Paris. 1604." Lives of Scotish Writers, MS. in Advocates' Library.

* Presentation of Mr James Wilkie to be principal of St Leonard's College, St Andrews, in the room of Mr George Buchanan, April 15. 1570: And Admission of Mr Andrew

was the custom for the principal to inflict corporal chastisement, *propria manu*, upon delinquents, in the presence of the masters and students assembled in the common-hall. Melville devolved this disagreeable task on the regents *; but it was still an essential part of his duty to give judgment in cases which came before him by complaint or reference.

John Maxwell, son to Lord Herreis, was drawn away from his studies, and involved in disorderly practices, in consequence of a connection he had formed with Andrew Heriot, the dissolute heir of an opulent citizen. His regent having reported his misbehaviour and disobedience, the principal rebuked the young nobleman sharply, before the whole College, for mispending his time, and disgracing his birth, by associating with idle and debauched company. Irritated by this public reproof, Maxwell retired into the town, and, along with Heriot, gave himself up to the management of certain individuals

Bruce to the same office in 1630. Papers of St Leonard's College.

* Robert Boyd of Trochrig when admitted principal of the college of Edinburgh, in 1622, protested before the Town Council that he should not be bound to administer corporal correction, which he considered as unbecoming the dignity of the station. He had declined it (he said) when principal of the College of Montauban in France, and of Glasgow, although he acknowledges it was the accustomed duty of the principal. His predecessor at Glasgow (Patrick Sharp) had performed it; but he alleges that this was owing to its having been "his wonted custome, whereunto he was inured in the grammar school, wherefra he was taken to be Principal of the College." Life of Robert Boyd, p. 84—100. Wodrow MSS. vol. 5. Bibl. Col. Glas.

who were hostile to the college, and anxious to involve it in a quarrel with the inhabitants. Having collected a number of lewd persons, Heriot threw himself in the way of the masters and students, as they were returning one day from church, and followed them until they entered the college; brandishing a drawn sword in the principal's face, and making use of the most opprobrious and provoking language. Melville bore this insult with the utmost patience, and exerted his authority in restraining the students who burned with desire to revenge the affront offered to their master *. Lord Herreis, having heard of his son's misconduct, came to Glasgow, and obliged him, on his knees, and in the open court of the college, to beg pardon of the principal, whose forbearance he highly commended. Heriot was soon after seized with a dangerous illness; during which, Melville, at his earnest desire, waited on him, assured him that he had forgotten the late injury, and did every thing to sooth the last moments of the unhappy young man †.

But though he was disposed to overlook personal injuries, and to be lenient to penitent offenders, he

* "The schollars war out of thair wittes, and fean wald haiff put hands on him (Heriot); but he (the Principal) rebuiked tham in sic sort that they durst not steir. As for myself, for als patient as I am called, I doucht not suffer it, bot withdrew myself from him." James Melville relates the story as one proof, among many others, that although his uncle was "verie hot in all (public) questions, yet when it twitched his particular, no man could crab him, contrar to the common custom." Diary, p. 50.

† Ibid.

knew how to maintain the authority of his office; and when he perceived that the credit of the University was at stake, or that it was intended to intimidate him from executing the laws, he discovered the native resolution and intrepidity of his mind. I shall give an instance of this, which assumed a more serious aspect than the preceding, and derives interest from the relation it bears to *Mark Alexander Boyd*, a young gentleman who afterwards attracted considerable notice by his adventures as a soldier, and by his literary efforts. He was the younger son of Robert Boyd of Pinkhill, and a near relation of Lord Boyd, the favourite of the Regent Morton *. Having lost his father at an early period of his life, he was placed under the care of his uncle, the archbishop of Glasgow, for the sake of his education. Young Boyd evinced great spirit and genius, but accompanied with a headstrong and ungovernable temper. He had created much vexation to the master of the grammar-school, and to the first regent under whom he studied at college. When he entered the second class, James Melville, who taught it, told him that such practices as he understood him to have indulged in would not be tolerated. The admonition had the desired effect for some time, but at length the impression of it wore off, and Boyd received the castigation of which

* Sibbaldi Prodromus Nat. Hist. Scotiæ, P. ii. lib. 3. pp. 2—4. Life of Mark Alexander Boyd, by Lord Hailes. Sibbald had heard in general of the incident related in the text, but was unacquainted with the particulars.

he had been forwarned, and which his behaviour merited. Upon this the affronted stripling resolved to be revenged. Having pricked his face with his writing instruments, and besmeared it with the blood which he drew, he presented himself before his friends in this guise, with loud complaints of the cruel treatment which he had received from his regent. In consequence of the noise excited by this, the principal and professors investigated the affair, and easily detected the fabrication. But his relations having foolishly taken part with him, young Boyd not only absented himself from the college, but determined to take still more ample revenge. In concert with his cousin, Alexander Cunninghame, a near relation of the Earl of Glencairn, he way-laid the regent in the church-yard as he was returning one evening to the college. Boyd came behind him with a baton, intending to knock him down, but retreated when the regent, who had perceived his tread, turned round. Cunninghame then rushed forward with a drawn sword; but the regent, who had been taught to fence, though unarmed at the time, declined the thrust aimed at him, seized the sword-arm of the assailant, and wresting the weapon from his hand, detained him a prisoner. The rector and professors having met with the magistrates of the city to judge of this outrage, were of opinion that it could not be passed over without endangering the peace and safety of the College, and decreed that Alexander Cunninghame should come to the place where he had com-

mitted the offence, bare-headed and bare-footed, and there crave pardon of the University, and of the regent whom he had assaulted. Encouraged by his friends he refused to submit to this sentence; and nothing was to be heard in the town and country but loud threatenings that the Boyds and Cunninghames would burn the college and kill the professors. Disregarding these threats, Melville summoned the offender before the Privy Council, went himself to St Andrews to prosecute the cause, and, notwithstanding the powerful interest with which he had to contend, obtained a decree, ordaining Alexander Cunninghame to obey the sentence of the University and Town Council against a certain day, or else enter as a prisoner into the castle of Blackness *. Upon his return, the rector, a man of great prudence and knowledge of the country, was of opinion that they should pass from the decree; as the pride of the families concerned would not suffer them quietly to see their relation make such a humble acknowledgement, and it was to be feared that the affair would not terminate without bloodshed. To this advice the principal peremptorily refused to yield. "If they would have forgiveness (said he) let them crave it humbly, and they shall have it; but ere this preparative pass, that we dare not correct our scholars for fear of bangsters and clanned gentlemen, they shall have all the blood of my body first."

* See Note P.

On the day appointed for making the submission, Lord Boyd came to Glasgow accompanied with his friends, and the Earl of Glencairn with his, to the number of between four and five hundred gentlemen. The members of the University being assembled in the College-hall, attempts were made to deter them from appearing at the appointed place, by persons who professed to act as mediators. "They that will go with me (exclaimed Melville) let them go; and they that are afraid, let them tarry." And setting out instantly, he was followed by the rector, regents, and students, in their gowns. The churchyard was filled with gentlemen, who gave way, and allowed the procession from the college to advance to the spot where the assault was made. Alexander Cunninghame, with his head and feet uncovered, but in other respects richly dressed, now came forward, supported by two of his friends, and, with an air very different from that of a penitent, said he was ready to make his submission, provided there were any that would accept it. "Doubt not of the acceptation (replied the principal); we are here ready." This boldness completely deranged the plans of the cabal, whose object it was to make a shew of readiness to give obedience to the order of the Privy Council, but at the same time to intimidate the College from requiring it. Accordingly, after a short pause, the culprit found himself obliged to begin his confession, which he went through in every article, conformably to the original sentence, in the presence of his friends convened from all parts of the country. When the

ceremony was over, the principal and his company left the church-yard in the same manner as they had entered it, without meeting with the slightest molestation. And the gentlemen, after spending a considerable sum of money in the town, returned home, "greater fools," as some of them expressed themselves, "than they came *."

We must not omit to notice a charge brought against Melville, which relates to the period of which we are now writing. It is said that he was accessory to "a little disturbance" which took place in Glasgow. "By the earnest dealing of Mr Andrew Melville and other ministers," the magistrates agreed to demolish the Cathedral, as a monument of idolatry, and to build a number of small churches with its materials. But the trades of the city, resenting this, rose in a tumult, and forcibly prevented the workmen from proceeding. The ring-leaders of the riot were summoned before the Privy Council, when the king, not then thirteen years of age, took their part, and told the ministers engaged in the prosecution, "that too many churches had already been destroyed, and that he would not tolerate more abuses in that kind †." This statement rests solely upon the authority of bishop Spotswood. I never met with any thing in the public or private writings of Melville, or of any minister contemporary with him, that gives the smallest ground for the conclusion, that

* Melville's Diary, pp. 52—55.

† Spotswood, Hist. p. 304.

they looked upon cathedral churches as monuments of idolatry, or that they would have advised their demolition on this ground. The records of the Town Council of Glasgow and of the Privy Council, are totally silent as to the alleged order and riot; a silence which it is extremely difficult to account for, on the supposition that the bishop has given a correct report of the affair. It appears from the most satisfactory documents, that the magistrates and ministers of Glasgow, so far from wishing to pull down the Cathedral, were anxious to uphold and repair it, that they made representations to the King and Privy Council on this head, and that, though the burden of the work did not legally fall on them, they voluntarily and zealously agreed to contribute for carrying it into execution *. I think it highly probable, that any disturbance which may have furnished the ground-work of the statement under examination, was occasioned by an order, not for demolishing, but for repairing the Cathedral; and that the craftsmen were aggrieved at some encroachment upon their rights, real or supposed, in the manner of carrying this into effect.

During the second year of his residence at Glasgow, Melville received from Geneva his library, consisting of an ample collection of books in various languages, and on all sciences, which he had purchased while he remained on the continent †. This was the treasure on which he set the highest

* See Note Q. † Melville's Diary, pp. 36, 41.

value; though the reverse of parsimonious in every other respect he does not appear to have been fond of making presents of his books*, he was even cautious in lending them; and when he was forced to fly from home one of the first objects of his anxiety was the security of his library †. Before its arrival at this time he must have felt severely the want of books. For this commodity was then exceedingly rare in Scotland; nor was there any thing in which our universities were more poorly provided.

The foundation of a public library in the University of Glasgow is to be referred to this period. The small collection formerly possessed by the College appears to have consisted entirely of text-books for the use of the regents. But in 1577, the year in which their revenue was much improved, the Senatus gave an order to purchase a considerable quantity of books, of various descriptions, at the public expence of the University. About the same time valuable additions were made to these by presents from individuals who were desirous of encouraging this necessary appendage to a literary establishment. Among its earliest benefactors we find the names of Buchanan, bishop Boyd, Andrew Hay, Andrew Polwart, Peter Blackburn, Archibald Craufurd, Thomas Jack, and John Howison ‡.

* I have not found his name among those of his learned contemporaries who made donations of this kind to the Universities of Glasgow and St Andrews.

† Melvini Epistolæ, p. 89, 295, 306.

‡ See Note R.

About this time Melville's first publication, which was printed abroad, made its appearance in Scotland. It consisted of a poetical paraphrase of the Song of Moses, and a chapter of Job, with several smaller poems, all in Latin *. This publication gained him great reputation among the learned, who eagerly expected that he would undertake a work of greater extent, which might prove a durable monument of his talents. He excused himself for declining this, by pleading that there were already too many writers who courted the public favour, and that it was his duty to devote his attention to the task of education, which he regarded as the great business

* James Melville speaks of this work as if it had been first published in 1578. Diary, p. 49. But I have now before me a copy of the very rare original edition, communicated by Mr David Laing, whose extensive acquaintance with Scottish bibliography has often been of great service to me. The following is the title of the work :

" Carmen Mosis, Ex Deuteron. Cap. XXXII. quod ipse moriens Israëli tradidit ediscendum & cantandum perpetuò, latina paraphrasi illustratum. Cui addita sunt nonnulla Epigrammata, & Iobi Cap. III. latino carmine redditum. Andrea Melvino Scoto Avctore. Basileæ M. D. LXXIIII." 8vo. Pp. 16.

The manuscript of this work was, it is probable, left on the continent by the author, when he returned to Scotland. But one, at least, of the epigrams (that on the death of Charles IX.) must have been transmitted to the printer by Melville, after his arrival in Britain. (See above, p. 51, 52.)—In the inventory of books belonging to Thomas Bassinden, printer in Edinburgh, inserted in his Testament Testamentar, is the following article : " Itē. xlviii carmen moyses, ye dosane xviii^d^. summa vi s." There can be no doubt that this is Melville's work. Bassinden died 18th October 1577. Commissary Records of Edinburgh.

of his life. Accordingly, he checked instead of encouraging the inclination to write for the press, confining himself to occasional pieces, epigrams, and other light effusions of the muse, in which he indulged for his own amusement and the gratification of his friends *.

The *Carmen Mosis* is unquestionably the finest poem in the collection, or perhaps of any that Melville wrote. It is worthy of the scholar of Buchanan, and deserves a place among the productions of those modern writers who have attained great excellence in Latin poetry. The author did not propose to transfuse the peculiar beauties of the original into his paraphrase. The different genius of the two species of poetry rendered this impracticable. Its merits must therefore be estimated according to the principles of Latin, and not of Hebrew poetry. The language is classically pure, and at the same time not unsuited to the sacredness of the theme; the versification is correct and smooth; and the imagery is managed with boldness and delicacy. The exordium, though it does not express the inimitable simplicity and majesty of the original, is lofty and beautiful.

Vos æterni ignes, et conscia lumina mundi,
Palantesque polo flammæ; vos humida regna
Aeriique super tractus, campique jacentes,
Et cœlum et tellus (ego vos nunc alloquor) aures
Arrigite: et celsas dicenti advertite mentes.

* Melville's Diary, p. 49.

Quales rore fluens gemmanti argenteus imber
Plurimus, arentes maturis solibus agros
Temperat undanti rivo; glebasque subactas
Evocat in florem, et viridantes elicit herbas;
Instauratque novos opulenti ruris honores.
Talis ab ore fluit sacro vis lactea fandi:
Tale polo veniens numeris liquentibus aureum
Divitis eloquii flumen manabit in artus,
Ossaque, perque imos sensus, perque alta pererrans
Pectora, nectareos læto feret ubere fructus,
Et gazam aetherea cumulabit messe perennem.
Quippe Dei pango nomen: cœlique verendum
Concelebro numen: vos ergo Dei venerandum
Et nomen celebrate, et numen pangite nostri.

The description of the eagle's teaching her young to fly, by which the divine care exercised about Israel is illustrated, is also extremely beautiful.

Ac velut alituum princeps, fulvusque Tonantis
Armiger, implumes et adhuc sine robore nidos
Sollicita refovet cura, pinguisque ferinæ
Indulget pastus, mox ut cum viribus alæ
Vesticipes crevere, vocat si blandior aura,
Expansa invitat pluma: dorsoque morantes
Excipit, attollitque humeris: plausuque secundo
Fertur in arva, timens oneri natat impete presso,
Remigium lentans alarum: incurvaque pinnis
Vela legens, humilesque tranat sub nubibus oras.
Hinc sensim supera alta petit: jam jamque sub astra
Erigitur: cursusque leves citus urget in auras,
Omnia pervolitans late loca: et agmine foetus
Fertque refertque suos vario: moremque volandi
Addocet. Illi autem longa assuetudine docti
Paulatim incipiunt pennis se credere cœlo
Impavidi. Tantum a teneris valet addere curam.

The smaller poems consist of commendatory verses to the memory of Admiral Coligni and other protestants who perished in the massacres of France, and of satirical invectives against the tyrannical and cruel policy of the individuals who had devised these detestable scenes *. The dedication of the work to the young king is very happily conceived and expressed.

Extremæ spes sera plagæ, lux aurea gentis
Arctoæ, et secli solque jubarque tui.
Tot sceptris atavorum ingens, ingentior alta
Indole, quam tollit relligionis honos,
Sancte puer, cape sacra meæ primordia musæ,
Non secus ac grati prima elementa animi.
Parva quidem tanto, fateor, munuscula Regi:
Parva, sed immensi munere magna Dei.
Ipse tibi majora dabis nostro auspice Phœbo:
Forsan et auspiciis nos meliora tuis †.

* Two of these have already been given. See above, p. 51, 52. Some of them are introduced into a work, entitled, "Memoires de l' Estat de France sous Charles IX." Tom. i. p. 571, b. 574. A Meidelborg, 1578.

† Below the dedication, in the copy of the book which I have used, a few lines in praise of Buchanan have been written with a pen. They are not in Melville's hand-writing, but from their having been introduced here it is probable that he was considered as the author of them. I have not observed that they have been printed.

Geo. Buchan. Scotus,
Vir Excellentiss.

Clarus in Historiæ campo, clarusque Poesi,
Nomen ad æternos fers, Buchanane, dies.
Scotia luce tua perfusa celebrior audet,
Rex disciplinæ gaudet honore tuæ.
Maximus es meritis. Quid Patria Rexve rependet,
Quando tuis meritis hic sit et illa minor?

The whole of this work was deemed worthy of being included in the selection of Latin poetry by Scotsmen, published at a subsequent period under the direction of Arthur Johnston *.

* Delitiæ Poetarum Scotorum, tom. ii.

CHAPTER III.

General estimate of the advantages resulting from Melville's teaching at Glasgow—state of literature in Scotland—royal school at Stirling—Buchanan—Peter Young—individuals educated along with the young king—scholastic philosophy—John Rutherfurd—William Ramsay—civil law—William Skene—Edward Henryson—theology and polite letters—Alexander Arbuthnot—Thomas Smeton—Patrick Adamson—Thomas Maitland—John Davidson—grammatical instruction—Thomas Jack—Patrick Sharp—Thomas Buchanan.

The settlement of Melville at Glasgow forms an era in the literary history of Scotland. In consequence of the confusions in which the country had for a number of years been involved, the study of letters, introduced by the Reformation, had suffered a severe check. A number of those intrusted with education had deserted the kingdom, and such of them as remained, being discouraged by want of patronage, desisted from their labours, or contented themselves with the perfunctorious performance of their official task, without making those exertions

which were necessary for their own improvement and the advancement of knowledge. Attempts to effect a reform on the old mode of teaching in the universities had repeatedly failed, from want of zeal in the government, and from aversion on the part of the teachers. A new impulse behoved to be given to the public mind before it would move forward in the prosecution of literature. And this was imparted by the arrival of an individual of high reputation, by the improved plan of study which his authority enabled him to introduce, and by the enthusiasm and the success with which he carried his plan into execution. These improvements were within a short time extended to the other seminaries of education; and the spirit which had been called forth displayed itself in the erection of new universities in different quarters of the kingdom.

More than thirty years had elasped since the Greek language was first taught in Scotland; and yet, when Melville returned to his native country, the students at St Andrews did not acquire any knowledge of it beyond the regular declensions. But now the most difficult Greek authors were read and explained at Glasgow. The knowledge of Hebrew was brought to the country by a deserving individual at the establishment of the Reformation; and yet, fourteen years after that period, not one of the professors in the first university of the kingdom could teach its alphabet*. But now the Hebrew

* Life of John Knox, vol. i. 6. ii. 14. comp. Melville's Diary, p. 26.

language was accurately taught at Glasgow, along with the cognate tongues which had hitherto been utterly unknown in Scotland. The scientific lectures delivered by Melville included several useful branches of knowledge, such as Universal History, Geography, and Chronology, which were either not included in the established course of study, or were treated in the most superficial manner. In a subsequent part of the work, we shall take an opportunity of inquiring into the advantages that resulted from the substitution of the Ramean in the room of the Aristotelian philosophy. To the same place we shall refer any remarks that we have to make on the engrossing attention which the learned at this period gave to the cultivation and use of the ancient languages. We shall only observe at present, that, as long as such importance was attached to this branch of learning, the plan, introduced by Melville at Glasgow, of combining the reading of the classics with the study of the arts and sciences, was proper and judicious. It was not only superior to the common practice of continually conning over the barbarous latin of summists and commentators, which could serve no other purpose than to form prating sophists and half-learned pedants; but it was also the best if not the only way of attaining that thorough knowledge and that complete command of dead languages, which was regarded as an essential and prime qualification of a man of learning. It was at least an imitation of nature, in as much as the knowledge of words and of ideas was

acquired at the same time. Instead of laying aside the study of Latin and Greek at a certain stage of his progress, and thus forgetting every day what he had acquired with little exercise of his understanding, the scholar was obliged to continue it through the whole of his academical course, and consequently was qualified for consulting, with ease and advantage, those writings which, in that age, were the only standards of taste, and the chief sources of what was most valuable in secular science. To this cause we are principally to ascribe that facility in reading, writing, and speaking the ancient languages which the learned of that period possessed; in which they excelled such modern scholars as are best acquainted with the niceties of classical criticism; and which is so surprizing to us that we are sometimes disposed to question the fact.

We shall be able to form a more correct idea of the state of literature in Scotland, and of what Melville did for its advancement, if we are acquainted with the principal literary characters whom he found in it on his return from the continent. None of these ought to be defrauded of the share of honour due to their talents and exertions. With the most of them Melville either had been or afterwards became connected; and from some of them he derived the greatest assistance. I shall not be very scrupulous as to the order in which I lay the following notices of them before the reader.

We shall begin with the Royal School in the castle of Stirling. This seminary attracts our first

notice from the celebrity of the individual at the head of it, no less than the rank of the illustrious pupil for whom it was provisionally established, and in whose education Britain and the protestant world at large felt the deepest interest. James was accustomed to complain of the treatment he received from those who governed the kingdom during his minority. In these complaints there was much ingratitude mixed with the political prejudices which he unhappily imbibed. No monarch of that age had such attention paid to him in his early years. Every provision was made, by the estates of the kingdom, for his personal safety and comfort, and for his being educated in a manner becoming his rank and prospects. The command of the castle of Stirling, in which he resided, was intrusted, upon the death of the Regent Mar, to his brother, Sir Alexander Erskine of Gogar, a gentleman of approved courage, and of the strictest honour and integrity. The immediate care of James's person, during his youth, was committed to Annabella, countess of Mar, the widow of the deceased Regent, who discharged the duties of her place with the most unexceptionable propriety *. David and Adam Erskine, commendators of Dry-

* "Sed hoc est memorabile quod Comitissæ Mariæ, Proregis uxori, cōmissus fuerit enutriendus, quæ, profecto, gravitate, bonitate, omnes nobiles exsuperavit, quæ, quantum præ loci ejus dignitate potuit, Regem sicut ejus filium aluit, fovit, et, Zoilo etiam contratestante, nutrivit. Sic Rex puer omnimodo felix, si fortunam suam non læsisset." Arch. Simson, Annales Eccl. Scot. MS. p. 158. See also Act. Parl. Scot. vol. iii. p. 158.

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burgh and Cambuskenneth, both gentlemen of excellent character, superintended the bodily exercises and sports proper for a young prince. Gilbert Moncrieff, a learned man who had studied in foreign universities, and sustained the fairest reputation both abroad and at home, held the place of physician in the royal household *. The superintendence of the prince's studies, and of whatever related to the improvement of his mind, was devolved on Buchanan, who was qualified for this important task not less by his unbending integrity and the soundness of his judgment, than by the splendour of his genius and the extent of his erudition.

The plan on which the education of James was conducted is a proof of the enlightened views of his preceptor. It included the learned languages, arithmetic, geography, astronomy, rhetoric, logic, and history †. In the exercises in composition prescribed to the royal pupil, more attention appears to have been paid to improvement in the vernacular language than was common at that period ‡. Great care was taken to instruct him in modern history, and especially the history of the nation over which he was to rule §. And next to the imbuing of his

* Buchanani Epist. p. 27. Melville's Diary, pp. 39, 56.

† Irving's Memoirs of Buchanan, p. 160. 2d edit.

‡ It is highly probable, that "The Esayes of a Prentice in the Divine art of Poesie," the earliest publication of James, consisted chiefly of exercises performed by him at the direction of his teachers.

§ Sibbaldi Comment. in Vitam G. Buchanani, p. 20.

mind with the principles of religion and virtue, it was Buchanan's great concern to give him just views of the nature of government, and what was incumbent on the king of a free people *.

Peter Young acted as Buchanan's assistant, and was sufficiently qualified for attending to the more trivial parts of instruction †. When the education of a young man is intrusted to more than one tutor, it is of the utmost consequence that they harmonize in their views and mode of management. To the want of this is to be ascribed in no small degree the disappointment of the hopes formed from the education of James. Young was destitute of Buchanan's genius, and every way his inferior in literature; but he possessed one talent to which his colleague was an utter stranger, that of improving the situation which he held to his own advantage. He did not fail in outward respect for Buchanan, nor resist his authority, but he injured him more than if he had committed both these offences. Buchanan had undertaken the delicate task of directing the young king's education from the most disinterested motives, and he never suffered himself to be diverted from his duty by the slightest regard to his own emolument. He did not forget that he was training up

* See his Dedications to the king of his *Baptistes*, *De Jure Regni*, and *Histor. Rer. Scot.* Translations of these may be seen in Dr Irving's Memoirs.

† Young was for some time on the continent with his uncle, Henry Scrimger, and attended the University of Lausanne. Smith, Vita Petri Junii, p. 4. Adami Vit. German. Theolog. p. 766.

one who was destined to reign, but he knew that the best way for fitting him to sway the sceptre, when it should be placed in his hands, was to treat him as a boy as long as he was such; and he guarded against fostering those premature or extravagant ideas of superiority which are but too ready to rise in the breast of a royal youth, in spite of the utmost care and vigilance on the part of his tutors. At an early period James discovered symptoms of those vices which afterwards degraded his character, and rendered his administration a source of uneasiness to himself, and oppressive to his people. Buchanan treated these with a wholesome severity, and accordingly kept the king in great awe *. It was Young's duty to have avoided every thing which tended, even indirectly, to counteract the influence of such measures; and provided he had used his endeavours to reconcile the mind of James to the restraints imposed on him, by representing them as proceeding from the regard which his preceptor felt for his welfare, the superior mildness of his own manners might have proved highly beneficial. But he was in the prime of life; he had the prospect of a family; he saw the advantages to be derived from ingratiating himself with the young king; and with a cool and calculating prudence, which men of ordinary minds often possess in a high degree, he pursued the course which tended to advance his worldly interest, by flattering the youthful vanity of his

* Irving's Buchanan, p. 159. D'Israeli's Inquiry into the character of James I. p. 61.

pupil, humouring his follies, and conniving at those faults which he ought to have corrected *. The consequences were such as might have been expected. The youthful vices of James were confirmed; Buchanan incurred his aversion; and Young had his reward in the honours and gifts that were heaped on himself and his family †.

The education of James was not conducted altogether in a private way. Several young men of rank were allowed to reside in the castle, and to carry on their studies along with him; as the young Earl of Mar, Sir William Murray of Abercairny, a nephew of the Countess of Mar, who spent his future life at court, Walter Stewart, afterwards Lord Blantyre and Lord High Treasurer, and the

* Sir James Melvil (Memoirs, p. 125.) has insinuated all that is contained in the text. The charge has been directly brought against Young by Archibald Simson, who had good opportunities of information, as his brother Patrick was minister of Stirling, and lived on an intimate footing with the family of Mar. His words are: "Educationis ejus cura Georgio Buchanano cõmissa est et Petro Junio, qui impares omnimodo erant; quod ille inter literatos fuit literatissimus, iste mediocriter elementa vix gustaverit. Sed in hoc differebant, Buchananus animi candore juvenis Regis naturam præsagiens satis acriter monendo compescebat; alter adulando fovebat. Sed quid eruditionis in Rege erat, hoc Georgio Buchanano debebat." Annales Ecclesiæ Scoticanæ, MS. p. 158.

† See the places in the Acts of the Parliaments of Scotland referred to in the Index under the articles, *Young (Peter)*, and his children. Scaliger has remarked, that princes of some learning dislike men of great learning, and delight only in pedantic pedagogues. "Prĩcipes docti oderunt doctissimos homines, ament tantum pedantes magisterulos." Scaligerana, Thuana, &c. tom. ii. p. 473.

Lord Invertyle*. To these we may add Jerom Groslot, a Frenchman, afterwards known by the name of the Sieur de l'Isle. His father, a respectable magistrate of Orleans, had lost his life in the massacre of St Bartholomew. Buchanan repaid the civilities which he had formerly received from the father, by the kind reception which he gave to the son who had taken refuge in Scotland †. It was no doubt by his influence that the young exile was received at court, and permitted to prosecute his studies along with the prince ‡. In consequence of the connections which he at this time formed with the court of Scotland, the Sieur de l'Isle was afterwards employed in certain confidential communications between James and Henry IV. of France, while the latter was king of Navarre §. He lived in habits of friendship with the greatest men of the age, and proved himself worthy of the master under whom he was educated, and of the commendations which

* Crawfurd's Officers of State, pp. 393, 402. Douglas's Baronage, p. 102. Mackenzie's Lives, iii. 172.

† Buchanani Epist. p. 33, 34.

‡ "Comite itineris Hieronymo Groslotio Lislæo, nobili Gallo, cuius maiores ex Francia Germaniæ oriundi erant, qui cum adolescentulo Jacobo vi. Scotiæ rege, sub Georgio Buchanano, educatus fuerat, Academias, Oxoniensem et Cantabrigiensem, bibliothecasque libris veteribus refertissimas, perlustrasset." Vita Pauli Melissi, in Adami Vit. German. Philosoph. p. 450.

§ They related chiefly to a proposal of marriage between king James and Henry's sister. Bayle is incorrect in his statement of this affair. Dict. art. Navarre, (Jean d'Albret, Reine de) Note N. The true state of facts may be learned from Memoires de M. du Plessis, tom. i. pp. 125—127, 624, 648, 656. Vie de M. du Plessis, p. 122.

he had received from him, by his attachment to letters, and his exertions in behalf of religion and liberty *.

The scholastic philosophy still maintained its authority, and formed the chief subject of study, in the universities. John Rutherfurd was at this time the most celebrated teacher of it in Scotland. He was a native of Jedburgh in Roxburghshire, and having gone to France, entered the College of Guienne at Bourdeaux. There he prosecuted his studies under Nicolaus Gruchius †, equally distinguished for his knowledge of Roman Antiquities, and his skill in the Aristotelian Philosophy ‡. He appears to have accompanied his teacher, and his countryman Buchanan, on their literary expedition to Portugal, from which he came to the University of Paris §. His reputation reached Archbishop Ha-

* Lipsii Opera, tom. ii. pp. 139, 144. Teissier, Eloges, tom. iii. p. 314. and Irving's Memoirs of Buchanan, p. 279, 282. In 1612, he sat in the National Synod of Privas, as an elder of the Church of Orleans, and was one of the Deputies appointed to reconcile the Marshal Duke of Bouillon to the Dukes of Sully and Rohan. Quick, Synodicon Galliæ Reformatæ, vol. i. pp. 347, 368.

† Rhetorfortis, De Arte Disserendi, p. 10.

‡ Teissier, Eloges, ii. 435—437.

§ Dempster, Hist. Eccl. Scot. p. 565. Dr Irving is disposed to question this statement. Memoirs of Buchanan, p. 70. 2d. edit. The silence of Buchanan, who, in his life, does not speak of any of his countrymen, except his own brother, accompanying him, certainly throws a degree of doubt over the subject; but still I am rather inclined to admit the testimony of Dempster. It is most probable that Rutherfurd studied under Gruchius before that professor went to Portugal, and in this case it is not unlikely that he should have been induced to accompany him. Dempster mentions, in a very particular manner, a work of Rutherfurd's,

milton, who invited him home to occupy a chair in the College of St Mary, which he had recently organized at St Andrews *; and after teaching in it for some years as Professor of Humanity, Rutherfurd was translated to be Principal of St Salvator's College in the same University. In such estimation was he held, that, soon after his admission into the University, he was raised to the honourable situation of Dean of the Faculty of Arts, although not qualified for holding it according to the strict import of the statutes †. He had embraced the reformed doctrines before their establishment in Scotland, and was declared qualified "for ministering and teaching"

containing discourses which he had delivered at Coimbra: "Præfationes solemnes Parisiis & Conimbriæ habitas, lib. i. *Extant typis Wechelianis.*" And he seems to have been at pains to ascertain the circumstances of Rutherfurd's life, for we find him referring to the records of the University of Paris. "Venit Lutetiam anno 1552. Acta nationis Germanicæ ad D. Cosm." —In the matriculation list of the University of St Andrews for the year 1551 is found, "Ex Collegio Mariano, Joannes Ruderfurd, natio. Britā." If this was the person afterwards principal of St Salvator's, and if he *began* his studies in 1551, he could not have belonged to the Portugueze colony; but there is reason to think that they were different individuals.

* Hovei Oratio, MS. in Archiv. Univ. S. Andr.

† It was objected against his eligibility, that he was not in priests' orders, and that he was a regent, that is, (as I suppose) that he was not a professor or permanent teacher—"primum q̄ nō fuit Sacerdos, secundum quod fuit regens, ut loquuntur, actu." This was in November 1557. Act. Fac. Art. S. Andr. ff. 180, b. 181, a.—The first time he is mentioned in the records is as one of the electors of the Rector in 1556, when he is designed, "Ex Britannia, Mr Jo. Rutherfurde, philosophus doctissimus Collegii Mariani,"—and again, "philosophus eximius." He appears to have been translated to St Salvator's in 1560.

by the first General Assembly *. By the authority of a subsequent Assembly he was admitted minister of Cults, a parish in the neighbourhood of St Andrews, of which the principals of St Salvator's were, by the foundation of that College, constituted rectors †. It was also part of his duty as principal to lecture on theology. But Rutherfurd was more celebrated as a philosopher than as a divine. Considered in the former character, his labours were unquestionably of benefit to the university and the nation. The publication of his treatise on the Art of Reasoning may be considered as marking a stage in the progress of philosophy in Scotland. It is formed, indeed, strictly upon Aristotelian principles, of which he was a great admirer; but still it differs widely from the systems which had long maintained an exclusive place in the schools. Treading in the steps of his master, de Grouchi, Rutherfurd rejected the errors into which the ancient commentators upon Aristotle had fallen, and discarded many of the frivolous questions which the modern dialecticians took so much delight in discussing. His work contains a perspicuous view of that branch of the Peripatetic philosophy of which it professes to treat. He had caught a portion of the classical spirit of the age; and the simplicity and comparative purity of his Latin style, exhibit a striking contrast to the barbarous and unintelligible jargon which had become hereditary in the tribe of schoolmen

* Keith, Hist. p. 522.
† Buik of the Universall Kirk, f. 7.

and sophists *. It appears from a curious document, that Rutherfurd, like some other philosophers, did not always display his philosophy in the management of his temper. In consequence of complaints against him by his colleagues, a visitation of the College of St Salvator took place in 1563, when it was found, that the principal had shewn himself "too hasty and impatient," and he was admonished "not to let the sun go down upon his wrath, and to study to bridle his tongue and conduct himself with greater humanity and mildness †."

William Ramsay deserves to be mentioned among those who cultivated polite letters along with philosophy and divinity, and who, at the establishment of the Reformation in Scotland, left the foreign academies of which they were members, that they might take the charge of public instruction in their native country ‡. He had been Rutherfurd's com-

* "Commentariorvm de Arte Disserendi libri qvatvor Joanne Retorforti Jedburgæo Scoto authore. Et nunc demum ab eodem diligenter recogniti & emendati. Edinburgi apud Henricum Charteris 1577. Cum Priuilegio Regali." 4to. Pp. 78. The author informs us that his work had been at first printed without his knowledge, and very incorrectly, from a manuscript furnished by one of his scholars. pp. 3, 9.—His "Comment. in Libr. Arist. de arte Metrica. Edinb. 1557," mentioned by Mackenzie, I have not seen.

† Charter of Regress by Mr John Douglas, Rector, &c. Sept. 15. 1563. comp. Cald. MS. vol. ii. pp. 432, 439.

‡ I think it highly probable that he is the individual referred to in a letter of Obertus Gifanius. Buchanani Epist. p. 7. His name does not appear in the records of the University of St Andrews from 1537, when he was made Master of Arts, till 1560, when he became a Professor.

panion on the continent, and became his colleague at St Andrews. Ramsay taught in St Salvator's when Melville attended the University, but was dead before the latter returned to Scotland *.

In the year 1556, a pension was granted to Alexander Syme, to enable him to wait on the Queen Regent, and be her reader in the Laws or other sciences, at Edinburgh or any other place that she might appoint †. But the teaching of Civil Law, properly speaking, commenced in Scotland at the establishment of the Reformation. Previous to that era the canons were the great object of study, and those who occasionally delivered lectures on civil law were generally, if not always, in priests' orders. It was by an innovation on the original constitution of St Mary's College, similar to that which had been made on religious instruction, that William Skene was first authorized to teach as a civilian at St Andrews, and to substitute the Institutes and Pandects in the room of the Sacred Canons and Decretals.

Though less known than his brother, the Clerk

* Dempster, Hist. Eccl. Scot. p. 561; where a book concerning the Portuneze is ascribed to Ramsay. On the 17th of January 1558, a pension of £100 yearly was given to "Mr Willme Ramsay." (Reg. of Privy Seal, vol. 29. fol 67.) In 1564, the General Assembly appointed a committee to examine Mr William Ramsay's Answer to Bullinger's book on the habits of the Preachers. Keith, 561. Ramsay was minister of Kembach, a church held by the second master of St Salvator's College. In consequence of a dispute in which he was involved, which came before the General Assembly, he obtained a testimonial from the kirk session of St Andrews, June 21, 1570, and died in the course of that year. (Record of Kirk Session. Buik of Univ. Kirk, pp. 49, 50. Bannatyne's Journal, 271.)

† See Note S.

Register, and though not eminent for talents, William Skene deserves to be remembered for his private worth, and his usefulness as a teacher and a judge. He appears to have studied, and to have taken the degree of licentiate *utriusque juris*, in a foreign university; and upon his return to his native country was made Canonist in St Mary's College *. After the Reformation, he explained Cicero's treatise on Laws, and the Institutes of Justinian; and as this was the only class of the kind in the University, such of the students of the other colleges as chose were at liberty to attend his lectures. He gained the affection of his scholars by the condescending manner in which he explained to them in private what he had taught in the class, and shewed them the practice of law in the Commissary Court, of which he was the chief judge †. John Skene

* Among the "Nota Incorp. 1556. in Novo Collegio," the first name is "Magr Gulielmus Skene in utroque jure licentiatus." (Liber Rectoris Univ. S. Andr.) This entry shews that he had not studied at St Andrews; and I do not think that any of the Scottish universities were at that period in the habit of conferring degrees in Law. On the 31st of March 1558, the right to the church of Tarvet was conveyed to St Mary's College, by putting the archbishop's signet "digito discreti viri Magri Willielmi Skeyne, juris licentiati, et *ejusdem Collegii Canonistæ*," as procurator for his colleagues. (Papers of St Mary's College.) In the Rector's Book, he is repeatedly said to be "ex Angusia." He was Conservator of the Privileges of the University, and was elected Dean of the Faculty of Arts, Nov. 3. 1565. (Act. Fac. Art.)

† Melville's Diary, p. 24. Sir John Skene frequently refers to a book of his brother William's, most probably in manuscript. (De Verborum Significatione, sig. I 4, K 2, O 3.) In an inventory of the books and papers of Mr William Skene, Commissary of St Andrews, taken Dec. 11. 1583, after his decease, by order of the Lords of Session, the following articles

taught for some years, as a regent, in the same College with his brother *.

Edward Henryson was a man of greater talents and learning than Skene. He received the degree of doctor of laws from the University of Bourges, where he studied under Eguinar Baro, one of the first civilians who had recourse to the pure sources of ancient jurisprudence, and blended polite literature with the pursuits of their immediate profession. Having finished his studies, Henryson resided for some time with Ulrich Fugger, and enjoyed a pension from that munificent patron of learned men. Both at that time, and afterwards while he read lectures on law at Bourges, he published several works which made his name known in the learned world. By his translations from the Greek he co-operated

occur: "Certane wreittis upon the lawis wreittin and penit be ye Commissar:"—"Maister William Skeynis prottocol w^t certane shrowles and wyeris vreittis lyand lowse w^in ye same." (Papers of St Salvator's College.) The titles of the books in this list have been very imperfectly and incorrectly taken.—Sir John also refers to a book of his brother Alexander, an Advocate. De Verb. Signif. l. 4. Comp. Act. Parl. Scot. vol. ii. p. 105. Alexander Skene signs a deed, as Notary Public, at Paris, Sept. 13. 1552. Keith's Scotish Bishops, p. 74. In 1561, "Maister Alex. Skyne advocate," was warded by the magistrates of Edinburgh for attending mass, but "at ye desyre and requeist of Maister William Skene," was set at libertie, on certain conditions. Register of Town Council, vol. iv. f. 9, a. 10, b.

* His name appears as a regent in the year 1564 and 1565. Lib. Rect. et Fac Art. This must have been previous to his travelling on the continent, which he mentions repeatedly in his treatise *De Verborum Sign.* See List of persons educated at St Andrews, in Appendix.

with some of the most enlightened men of that age in diffusing polite letters. And his law tracts are allowed to be not unworthy of the distinguished school in which he received his education. Upon his return to Scotland, at the establishment of the Reformation, he was appointed one of the Commissaries of Edinburgh, and justified the character he had gained abroad by the uniform encouragement which he gave to literature in his native country *.

Of the state of theological instruction we shall speak more particularly when we come to the settlement of Melville at St Andrews. But it is proper to give an account in this place of some individuals who joined the study of polite letters with that of theology. One of the most distingushed of these was Alexander Arbuthnot. He was descended of an ancient family in the shire of Kincardine †, and after finishing his philosophical course, and teaching for some time in the University of St Andrews, went to France, and prosecuted his studies under Cujacius. Being declared licentiate of laws, he came home in 1566, with the view of following that profession, but was induced to devote himself to the service of the church. In 1568 he was made principal of the University of Aberdeen. Writers of every party speak in high terms of the talents and virtues of

* See Note S.

† He was not the son (as Mackenzie erroneously states, Lives, iii. 186), but the grandson of the baron of Arbuthnot. His father was Andrew Arbuthnot of Futhes, fourth son of Sir Robert Arbuthnot of that Ilk. Nisbet's Heraldry, vol. ii. App. p. 84. 2d. edit.

Arbuthnot. He was skilled in mathematics and medicine as well as in law and theology. Though decided in his religious and political creed, the uprightness of his character, and the amiableness of his manners, disarmed the resentment of his opponents, and procured him their respect and esteem *. Few individuals could have maintained themselves in the situation in which he was placed. When he went to Aberdeen, the greater part of the gentlemen in the neighbourhood were strongly addicted to the popish religion, and his predecessor, from hostility to the protestant establishment, had reduced the university to absolute poverty. In these circumstances he had to struggle with the greatest difficulties, especially during the civil war, when the government was destitute of authority in the north, and the interests of learning were forgotten. To this he feelingly alludes in one of his poems:

I wald travel, and ydlenes I hait,
Gif I culd find sum gude vocatioun.
But all for nocht: in vain lang may I wait
Or I get honest occupatioun.
Letters are lichtliet in our natioun;
For lernying now is nother lyf nor rent:
Quhat marvel is thoch I murne and lament †?

Arbuthnot departed from the example of the greater part of his learned countrymen, who were

* Spotswood, History, p. 335. Wodrow's Life of Alexander Arbuthnot, MSS. vol. i.

† Pinkerton's Ancient Scottish Poems, vol. i. p. 155.

ambitious of paying their court to the muse in the language of ancient Rome, while they left their native tongue to be used by writers of inferior talents and little learning. His poems were all composed in the Scottish language. Had he cultivated this species of composition, he possessed talents for it which would have attracted notice. But he indulged in poetry merely as an elegant amusement, by which he relieved his mind, when fatigued by the laborious duties of his office, or vexed with cares and disappointments. And he appears to have been cautious of detracting from the grave character of the professor, by associating it with one of a less dignified description.

> In poetrie I preis to pas the tyme,
> When cairfull thochts with sorrow sailyes me:
> Bot gif I mell with meeter or with ryme,
> With rascal rymours I sall rakint be *.

Though his genius could sport in the gayer and more sprightly scenes of fancy, Arbuthnot confined himself chiefly to productions of a thoughtful and serious cast; and in some of these we perceive a very pleasing air of moral melancholy diffused over great goodness of heart †.

The only work which Alexander Arbuthnot is known to have published, is a treatise on the origin

* Pinkerton, ut supra.

† The following lines from one of his unpublished poems, though not distinguished in other respects, may be given as a specimen of this, in addition to his poem on the *Miseries of a poor scholar*,

and dignity of Law. It probably consisted of academical orations or theses; but the only authentic information we have concerning it is contained in the encomiastic verses of Thomas Maitland *.

Another accomplished individual with whom Melville at this time became closely united was Thomas Smeton. When he had finished his acade-

which is already printed. *The Fainyeit falset and unthankfulness of a friend* gave occasion to them:

The simple wit and scharpnes of Ingyn,
Quhilk quhillome wes, now quyt is tain away:
The steiring spirit quhilk poets call devyn
Into my febill breist I find decay:
I neither courage haive to sing nor say,
Quhen I behald this warldis wickednes;
And quhen I find I am so far thame fray
Quha was my onlie comfort and gleidnes.

My fais fall, and friendis gude succes,
Sumtym my pen wes bissie to indyte:
Of nobill men the valiant prowes
Somtym my courage yairnit for to wreit:
The laud, honour, and the praises great
Of thame sumtym I wissed till advance
Quhom now of neid my hairt has in despyt,
And quhom I wyt of this wanhappie chance.

Then, mistress, luik na mair for onie fruit,
Or ony wark to com of my Ingyne;
For now I nather cair for fame nor bruit:
I haive sa tint that I na mair can tyne.

Maitland MS.

* "Alexandri Arbuthnæi Orationibus de origine et dignitate juris præfixa." Delitiæ Poet. Scot. tom, ii. p. 153. Mackenzie (Lives, iii. 194.) says that the *Orationes* were printed at Edinburgh in 1572.

mical education, and was teaching as a regent in the College of St Salvator, the controversy about religion was warmly agitated at St Andrews; and so zealous was Smeton in favour of the old system, that he left the university and his native country, and retired to France, at the triumph of the Reformation. He continued for some time an eager though candid champion of the Roman Catholic faith; but at last, in consequence of conversations which he held with Melville, Thomas Maitland, Gilbert Moncrieff, and others of his countrymen whom he met with at Paris, disagreeable doubts arose in his mind as to the religion in which he had been educated. He did not, however, give way to these, but attached himself to the society of the Jesuits, the most zealous and able defenders of the church of Rome; resolving to examine the subjects in dispute deliberately, and, if he found his doubts remain at the end of his period of probation, to decline the vow, and act according to his convictions*. With the view of obtaining the fullest information, he undertook a journey to Italy, and, passing through Geneva, conferred with Melville, who wished him success in his great object, though he could not approve of his measures. During eighteen months that he spent in Rome, under the tuition of the Jesuits in that city, he had frequent opportunities of visiting the

* Dempster says that Smeton taught Humanity at Paris (in the University), and afterward in the College of Clermont, with great applause. Hist. Eccl. Scot, p. 586.

prisons of the Inquisition, and of conversing with the persons confined for heresy. His conversation on these occasions excited the suspicions of his vigilant guardians, and he was remitted to Paris through the different colleges that were on the road. On his return to the French capital, he candidly revealed his mind to his countryman Edmund Hay *, from whom he had already experienced much kindness. The discovery of his attachment to the reformed tenets grieved Hay, who had formed great expectations from Smeton's talents, but it did not induce him to withdraw his friendship. After several unsuccessful attempts to recover him from his errors, the good father warned Smeton of the danger to which he would expose himself by avowing his sentiments in France, and gave him his best advice; which was, to return home, to marry, to read the fathers and doctors of the church, and not to give ear to the ministers. Amidst the bigotry and violence which then reigned in France, and by which many of our countrymen who had taken up their residence in it were deeply infected, it is gratifying to meet with such an honourable exception as this. It is also a pleasing circumstance, that this piece of information has come to us from the grateful pen of Smeton, who, not satisfied with relating the facts to his

* In a preceding note, at the foot of p. 27, there is an inaccuracy in the reference. Instead of "Dempster has stated," &c. it should have been said, "The Annotator on Dempster has stated," &c. See marginal note on Dempster, Eccl. Scot. p. 361. copy in Advocates Library.

acquaintance, publicly acknowledged the kindness with which he had been treated by this mild and affectionate Jesuit *. The neglect of one part of Hay's advice had nearly cost Smeton his life, which was saved, during the Bartholomew massacre, by his taking refuge in the house of Walsingham, the English ambassador, whom he accompanied to London. After teaching a school for some time at Colchester in Essex, he returned, in the year 1577, to his native country.

On his arrival in Scotland, he came to the west country, and accepted of the church of Paisley, chiefly for the sake of enjoying Melville's society †. It was at his recommendation that Smeton undertook to answer the virulent dialogue lately published by Archibald Hamilton; a task which he executed with much ability ‡. He was well acquainted

* "Vera hæc esse testabitur Edmundus Haius, Laiolanæ in Gallia sectæ præfectus. Quem cum non paucis ingenii dotibus ornarit qui omnia in omnibus pro arbitrio operatur, vtinam vera etiam dignetur Evangelii sui cognitione. Hoc illi & aliis omnibus ex animo precor: sed illi imprimis, ob plurima priuatim officia ab illius in me humanitate, cum dubius fluctuarem, profecta: Quæ, vt referendæ gratiæ facultas desit, gratissima certe memoria colam." Smetoni Responsio ad Hamiltonii Dialogum, p. 16.

† To avail themselves as far as possible of his services, the University of Glasgow, in 1578, chose Smeton Dean of Faculty, Acta Univ. Glas.

‡ Dr Edward Bulkely, in a letter to Buchanan, dated Chester 28th Nov. 1580, says: "Legi Smythonii librum adversus Hamiltonum Apostatam. Vestræ Scotiæ, nunc vera Christi cognitione ac literis illustratæ, gratulor quod tales præstantes assertores habeat." Buchanani Epistolæ, p. 31. edit. Ruddim.

with the writings of the ancients, and with the mode of controversial warfare which the defenders of the church of Rome, and especially the Jesuits, had lately adopted. Being privy to their designs against Scotland, he excited the ministers to vigilance, gave directions to the young men how to conduct their studies, and dealt with the nobility and gentry not to send their sons to those foreign seminaries in which their minds would be in the greatest hazard of being corrupted. That they might be under the less temptation to this, he zealously concurred with Melville in his plan for new modelling the Colleges at St Andrews, of which we shall afterwards have occasion to speak *.

Smeton was well acquainted with the learned languages, wrote Latin with great purity, and had not, like many of his countrymen who had been abroad, neglected his native tongue, in which he composed with great propriety †. In private life he was distinguished for his temperance; encroaching upon the hours usually devoted to diet and sleep

Dempster describes this work as "opus verborum ornatu non inelegans, sed doctrina vacuum." Hist Eccl. Scot. p. 586. He ascribes to Smeton, "Epitaphium Metellani, lib. i." Ibid.

* Smetoni Respons. ad Dialog. Hamiltonii; Prefat. et p. 15, 16. Melville's Diary, pp. 55—58. Spotswood, 336. James Melville, whom I have chiefly followed, received the particulars which he records from Smeton's own mouth. His account varies from that of Spotswood in some minute particulars. He does not speak of Thomas Maitland's accompanying Smeton to Italy.

† James Melville says, that Smeton was usually employed by his brethren in drawing up important papers, as he "excellit baith in language and form of letter." Diary, p. 58.

that he might devote more time to his studies. Yet his temper was sweet, and his manners affable, and remote from all rusticity and moroseness.

Another individual with whom Melville was on terms of intimacy at this time, and who makes a prominent figure in the history of the period, was Patrick Adamson, known also by the name of Constyne or Constantine. He had received his elementary education under his brother-in-law, Andrew Simson, and, having finished his philosophical course at St Andrews, in the College of St Mary, taught for some years in it, most probably as grammarian. After the establishment of the Reformation he became minister of Ceres, a parish in the vicinity of St Andrews. This charge he left to accompany the eldest son of Sir James Mackgill, Clerk Register, on his travels to France; and during his residence in that country he applied himself to the study of law at the University of Bourges. Upon his return to Scotland, in the year 1570, he fluctuated as to the profession which he should choose. Declining the office of principal of St Leonard's College which Buchanan had demitted in his favour *, he began to practice at the bar; and relinquishing this employment he resumed his former vocation as a preacher. He officiated some years as minister of Paisley, from which he removed to become chaplain to the Regent, who promoted him to the archiepiscopal see of St Andrews †.

* Ruddimanni Præfat. in Oper. Buchanani.

† See Note T.

Adamson had already given proofs of his talents by the publication of several works. Though inferior to Melville in erudition and in vivacity of genius, he was nevertheless a polite scholar, an elegant poet, and a most persuasive and attracting preacher. But he was inordinately ambitious, and not over scrupulous as to the measures which he employed for gratifying his ruling passion; by which means he tarnished his reputation, and defeated the influence of the great abilities which he unquestionably possessed.

Though Thomas Maitland had died before Melville returned to Scotland, yet he deserves to be mentioned here as one of his learned class-fellows, and as the intimate friend of Arbuthnot and Smeton. He belonged to a family, all the members of which, not excepting the females, were addicted to literary pursuits *. His father, Sir Richard Maitland of Lethington, one of the Lords of Session, is well known as a writer of Scottish poetry; and both his brothers, William and John †, were distinguished for their elegant taste as well as the political eminence to which they rose. Thomas Maitland had given various proofs of his poetical talents before his premature death. If they do not display a vigorous imagination, his poems at least evince great command of the Latin language, and are written with

* Pinkerton's Scottish Poems, Introd.

† John Maitland, Lord Thirlstane, was successively Lord Privy Seal, Secretary of State, and Chancellor of Scotland.

ease and spirit *. His political conduct partook in a considerable degree of that versatility by which his elder brother's was characterized. After eulogizing the character and administration of the Regent Murray, he insulted over his fall †. Maitland is better known from Buchanan's having made him his interlocutor in his dialogue on the Law of the Scottish Monarchy, than from his own poems. When he joined the party who sought to restore Queen Mary, Maitland disowned the principles contained in that treatise, and insisted that the author had no other reason for coupling his name with them than his own fancy ‡. Buchanan did not wish to insinuate that the conversation which he describes was actually held, but he certainly meant it to be understood that the sentiments which he

* He appears to have written a treatise on undertaking war against the Turks. Delitiæ Poet. Scot. tom. ii. p. 171.

† Comp. Delitiæ Poet. Scot. tom. ii. p. 163. with Life of Knox, vol. ii. p. 175.

‡ Innes's Critical Essay on the Ancient Inhabitants of Scotland, vol. i. p. 359. Buchanan's Dialogue was not published for several years after the death of Maitland; but there is reason to think, as Innes says, that copies of it were handed about as early as 1570.—There is in the College Library of Edinburgh a MS. (the gift of William Drummond of Hathornden) entitled "Thomæ Metelani ad Serenissimam principem Elizabetham Anglorum Reginam Epistola." It consists of 41 pages 4to; and is properly a discourse or oration, composed in a very rhetorical style, urging the propriety of setting Queen Mary at liberty, and restoring her to her dominions. There is no date to it, but from internal evidence it appears to have been written in the year 1570 or 1571. It bears every mark of having been intended for publication.

puts into the mouth of his interlocutor were entertained by Maitland. And it was vain for the latter to deny this, seeing he had recommended in verse the most obnoxious of the tenets which the writer of the dialogue inculcates in prose. In his poem on the coronation of James VI. he holds up arbitrary government to reprobation, and celebrates the resistance made by the people to tyrants. Having given examples of this from ancient history, and shewn

> How Rome, impatient, spurned proud Tarquin's yoke,
> How ages after Brutus' spirit woke,
> And hurled at Cæsar's breast the patriot stroke;

Maitland comes to Scotland, places before the eyes of the young king the fate of such of his ancestors as had arrogated a power superior to the laws, and describes the sudden and overwhelming resistance which his impetuous countrymen were wont to oppose to encroachments on their rights, in language which no courtly poet, however chivalrous his ideas, would dare to employ, and which proves that he was then no believer in the divine right and sacred inviolability of despots *.

> * Gens inclyta Scotæ
> Progenies, quæ sponte sua tibi jura ferenti
> Obsequitur, consueta bonos defendere reges
> Oppositu laterum, nullis cessura periclis,
> Dum sancto regis depellat corpore ferrum:
> Illa eadem, si quando ferox, sitiensque cruoris
> Exurgat, fortem trepida cum plebe Senatum
> Qui vincire velit, patriæque infringere leges:
> Non tolerat. sed fama volat, subitoque tumultu
> Accensi heroes virtusque armata popelli

We shall repeatedly have occasion to speak of John Davidson, who was afterwards minister at Libberton and at Prestonpans. But it may be proper to take notice here of a curious poem composed by him about this time, as the circumstances connected with its publication throw light on the public events which we shall in a little proceed to relate. The Regent Morton, with the view of securing for the use of the court a larger proportion of the thirds of benefices, had obtained, in 1573, an order of the Privy Council for uniting two, three, and even four parishes, and putting them under the care of one minister. As pluralities had always been condemned by the reformed ministers, and considered as one of the worst abuses in the popish church, this act excited great dissatisfaction. John Davidson, who was then a regent in St Leonard's College*, and a young man of great zeal, expressed the general sentiment in a metrical dialogue, in which he exposed the evil of the practice, and taxed, in terms more homely than pleasant, the motives in which it evidently originated. His poem was printed without his knowledge, upon which he was summoned to a justice-air at Haddington, and a sentence of imprisonment pronounced against him. He was liberated upon bail, in the hopes that he might be prevailed upon to re-

> Sceptra rapit, mox dejectum de sede tyrannum,
> Nunc morte horrifica, sævo nunc carcere frænat.
> Delitiæ Poetarum Scotorum, tom. ii. p. 162

* He is the author of the poem in *Commendatioun of Uprichtnes*, republished in the Life of John Knox, vol. ii. Supplement.

tract what he had written, or that the General Assembly might be induced to condemn it. A number of his colleagues in the University, who were desirous of pleasing the court, shewed themselves unfavourable to him; Rutherfurd, the principal of St Salvator's, who had taken it into his head that he was disrespectfully alluded to in the dialogue, had written an answer to it*; and the greater part of the Assembly were so much afraid of the Regent's resentment, that, although they were of the same sentiments with Davidson, they declined approving of his book, and left him to the vengeance of his powerful prosecutor. Interest was made in his behalf by some of the principal gentlemen in the country, but Morton was inflexible; and finding that

* "The Moderator injoyned them silence, and desired Mr John Rutherford yet again to produce his book; but he yet still refused, and said, 'that Mr John (Davidson) had called him *crused goose* in his book, that he had little Latin in his book, and that was false,' with many other brawling words.—Mr Alexander Arbuthnot said, you take that to you which no man speaks against you." Cald. MS. vol. ii. pp. 432, 439.

The following is the passage in the poem which gave offence to Rutherfurd:

Thair is sum Collages we ken,
Weill foundit to vphald learnit men:
Amang the rest foundit we se
The teiching of theologie.
Lat anis the Counsell send and se,
Gif thir places weill gydit be;
And not abusit with waist rudis,
That dois nathing bot spendis yai gudis
That was maid for that haly vse,
And not to feid ane *Crusit Guse*.

nothing short of a recantation would save him from punishment, Davidson, after lurking for a while in the west of Scotland, retired into England, from which he was not permitted to return during the life-time of the Regent *. Lekprevick, the printer of the poem, was also prosecuted, and confined for some time in the Castle of Edinburgh †.

The prosecution of Davidson does little honour to the administration of Morton. There is nothing in the obnoxious book which could give ground of offence or alarm to any good government. It is a temperate discussion of a measure which was at least controvertible. The reasons urged in its support are candidly and fairly stated, and they are examined and refuted in a fair and dispassionate manner. The evils which the act of council was calculated to produce are indeed exposed with faithfulness and spirit; but without any thing disrespectful to authority, or tending in the slightest degree to excite "sedition and uproar."

In a literary point of view, the merits of the Dialogue are far from contemptible. It is superior to most of the fugitive pieces of the time. Without any pretensions to fine poetry, the versification is easy and smooth, and the conversation is carried on in a very natural and spirited manner. The intro-

* During his exile Davidson visited the continent. Cald. MS. vol. iii. p. 248.

† His summons is inserted in Cald. MS. ii. 442. The prosecution was founded on the act of parliament 1551, "against blasphemous rymes or tragedies."

duction to the poem may amuse such readers as are wearied with the dryness of some of the preceding details :

Vnto Dundie as I maid way,
Nocht lang afoir Sanctandrois day,
At Kinghorne ferrie passand ouir
Into ye Boit was thre or four
Of gentill men, as did appeir.
I said, Schirs, is thair ony heir
Quhais Jornay lyis vnto Dundie ?
Twa of thame answerit courtaslie,
We purpose nocht for to ga thidder,
Bot yit our gait will ly togiddet
Quhill * we be passit Kennewie.
Than I sall beir yow companie,
Said I ; and with that we did land,
Syne lap upon our horse fra hand,
And on our Jornay rudelie raid.
Thir twa vnto Sanctandrois maid :
The tane of thame appearit to be
Ane cunning Clerk of greit clergie,
Of visage graue and manneris sage,
His tongue weill taucht, but † all outrage,
Men micht haue kend that he had bene
Quhair gude Instructioun he had sene.
The vther did appeir to me
Ane cumlie Courteour to be,
Quha was perfyte and weill be sene
In thingis that to this land pertene.
Be we had riddin half ane myle,
With myrrie mowis passing the quhyle,
Thir twa of quhome befoir I spak
Of sindrie purposis did crak,
And enterit in amang the res
To speik how that the kirk was drest.

* Until. † without.

And this began the Courteour:
Quhat think ye of this new ordour?
Ye that ar Clerkis and men of wit,
I wat weill ye will speik of it
Amangis your selfis quhen ye conuene:
I pray you tell me quhat ye mene,
And gif this ordour ye allow,
Or alwayis how it plesis yow.
The Clerk said; Sir, the treuth to tell,
With Princes maters for to mell
I think it lyis nocht in our gait:
Lat Courteouris of sic thingis trait.
The Courteour maid answering:
Yit men will speik, Sir, of the king;
Bot this new ordour that is tane
Wes nocht maid be the Court allane:
The Kirkis Commissionars wes thare,
And did aggrie to les and mair.
Yit men may speik as they haue feill,
Quhidder it lykis thame euill or weill.
The Clerk said: haue thay condescendit,
I think our speiking can nocht mendit;
Bot ane thing I dar tak on me,
Gif as ye say the mater be
That thay of Kirk thairto assentit,
Thay sal be first that sall repentit;
Thocht for thair tyme sum wylie wynkit,
The ages after will forthinkit.

The poem concludes with the following lines, which shew that the author was by no means pleased with the conduct of the greater part of the ministers of the church:

Forsuith, Schir (said the Courteour)
I am assurit had ilk Preichour

Vnto the mater bene als frak
As ye haue bene heir sen ye spak,
It had not cum to sic ane heid
As this day we se it proceid.
Bot I can se few men amang thame,
Thocht all the warld suld clepe ouirgang thame,
That bes ane face to speik agane
Sic as the Kirk of Christ prophane.
Had gude John Knox not yit bene deid,
It had not cum vnto this heid:
Had thay myntit till sic ane steir,
He had maid heuin and eirth to heir *.

Davidson also composed at this time a poem to the memory of Robert Campbell of Kinyeancleugh, a gentleman who had distinguished himself by his early attachment to the reformed religion, and his disinterested and invariable friendship for our national Reformer. Campbell died while actively employed in screening Davidson from the effects of persecution; and the latter has gratefully commemorated the virtues of his protector. This poem is inferior to the former in point of composition; but

* There is a copy of this rare poem in the Advocates Library. It is complete, with the exception of the title-page which is much wasted. The following title is made up from that copy and other documents.

"Ane Dialog or [Mu]tuall ta[lking] betwix a [clerk] and [ane cour]teour, Concerning [four kirks] till ane Minister, C[ollectit out of thair] mouthis, and put [in verse by a] young man qu[ha did] forgather w[ith thame] in his Jor[nay, as] efter foll[owis.]"

The book is printed in black letter, and consists of 16 leaves in 12mo. It has no imprint, but we learn from the summons

it preserves a number of curious and interesting facts relating to the history of those times *.

The author of these poems must not be confounded with his namesake, who was Melville's predecessor as principal of the University of Glasgow. The latter was a clergyman before the Reformation, and had studied at Paris along with Quintin Kennedy, abbot of Crossraguel. Having returned to Scotland he was placed, in 1557, at the head of the College of Glasgow. When the controversy concerning religion first arose Davidson adhered to the established church, but he afterwards changed his views and joined the reformers. His answer to Kennedy shews him to have been a modest and candid man, although not of great learning. He testifies much respect for his old college companion, notwithstanding the diversity of their sentiments, and acknowledges the kindness with which he had formerly been treated by archbishop Beaton †.

At Glasgow, Melville enjoyed the society of other learned men besides Smeton and Adamson. Archbishop Boyd, the chancellor, and Andrew Hay, the rector of the university ‡, were both excellent men, and zealous in promoting the interests of the seminary over which they presided.

to Robert Lekpreuik, that it was printed by him in January 157⅔; i. e. 1574, according to the modern reckoning. Cald. MS. vol. ii. p. 442.

* See Note U. † See Note V.

‡ See List of persons educated at St Andrews; in the Appendix.

David Cunningham, who held the rich benefice of the Sub-deanery of Glasgow, was a man of good talents and education, and spent a great part of his time with the masters of the College *. When he became chaplain to the Regent, Andrew Polwart, whom we have already spoken of, succeeded to his place, and continued for many years to hold the office of Dean of Faculty in the university †.

In order to ascertain the state of learning in the country it is necessary to attend to the inferior schools, in which the youth were prepared for entering the university, and multitudes, who never proceeded that length, had access to the means of common education. Long before the Reformation all the principal towns had grammar schools in which the Latin language was taught. They had also "lecture schools," as they were called, in which children were instructed to read the vernacular language. Subsequent to the establishment of the Reformation, the means of education were extended to other parts of the country; and, where regular schools were not founded, the readers in churches

* James Melville says, he was "a man lernit, and of verie guid accompt at y^t tyme: haid fear hous and yeards wherin an Erle might haifl dwellt, and a thowsand mark of rent w^t the better." Diary, p. 45. "David Cunninghame minister of Lanerick" was a member of the General Assembly which met in June, 1562. Keith, Hist. p. 511. He had left that place before 1567. Cald. MS. vol. ii. p. 58. Is he the person referred to by Gifanius as at Orleans in 1569? Buchanani Epist. p. 6.

† Jura, Leges, Instituta, p. 48. MS. in Archiv. Univ. Glasg. Memorial for Dr Leechman, p. 16.

generally supplied the deficiency, by teaching the youth to read the catechism and the Scriptures.

There was a grammar school in Glasgow at an early period of the fourteenth century. It depended immediately on the Cathedral Church, and the Chancellor of the diocese had not only the appointment of the masters, but also the superintendence of whatever related to education in the city. The grammar school continued to be a distinct establishment after the erection of the university, and considerable care appears to have been taken to supply it with good teachers. Thomas Jack, who resigned the charge of this institution when Melville came to Glasgow, was well qualified for the situation. This is evident from his *Onomasticon Poeticum*, containing an explanation of the proper names which occur in the writings of the ancient poets, composed in Latin verse, with the view of being committed to memory by the boys, and published by him at the recommendation of Buchanan and Melville*. On leaving the school of Glasgow, Jack became minister of the neighbouring parish of

* "Onomasticon Poeticvm siue, Propriorvm Qvibvs in svis Monvmentis vsi svnt veteres Poetæ, Brevis Descriptio Poetica, Thoma Jacchæo Caledonio Avthore. Edinbvrgi Excvdebat Robertvs Waldegraue, Typographus Regiæ Maiestatis. 1592. Cum Privilegio Regali." 4to. Pp. 150. It is dedicated to James, eldest son of Claud Hamilton, Commendator of Paisley, who had been educated under Jack, along with John Graham, a younger son of the Marquis of Montrose. The Dedication is dated "Ex *Sylva*, vulgò dicta, *Orientali*;" i. e. Eastwood. Prefixed and subjoined to the work are a recommendatory letter by

Eastwood, but continued to maintain a close correspondence with the masters of the College*, and particularly with Melville, of whose services to the literature of Scotland he entertained the highest

Hadr. Damman A Bistervelt, and encomiastic verses by the same individual, by Robert Rollock, Hercules Rollock, Patrick Sharp, Andrew Melville, and Thomas Craig. From the verses of Robert Rollock it appears that he had been the scholar of Jack, whom he calls

præceptor ille olim meus
Jacchæus.

* In 1577, "Thomas Jackæus" was "Quæstor Academiæ." (Annales Collegii Fac. Art. Glasg.)—Feb. 4. 1578, "Mr Thomas Jack vicar of eistwod" signs, as a witness, a tack granted by the College to John Buchanan of Ballagan. (Ibid.) "Mr Thomas Jack, minister of Rutherglen," was among those who opposed the election of Montgomery to be archbishop of Glasgow, (Records of Privy Council, April 12. 1582.) "Tho. Jack" was a member of the General Assembly, Aug. 1590. Buik of Universal Kirk, f. 158, b.) He is mentioned as a minister within the bounds of the presbytery of Paisley, in May 1593. (Records of the Presbytery of Glasgow.) And it appears that he died in 1596. For in the Testament Testamentar of "Euphame Wylie, relict of umqhill Mr Thomas Jak min^{r} at Eastwod," (given up 1st Aug. 1608) among the debts "awand to the deid" are certain articles which are evidently arrears of her husband's stipend for the years 1593, 1594, 1595, and 1596. She constitutes "Mr Gabriel Maxwell her oy," her only executor and intromitter. (Records of Commissary Court of Edinburgh.) In the Dedication of his *Onomasticon*, Jack says: "*Gabrielem Maxvellum*, nepotem meum, qui mihi unici filii loco est, ingravescente hac nostra ætate, tuo commendo patrocinio."—Gabriel Maxwell was a minister in the presbytery of Paisley, 18th March 1594. (Records of the Presbytery of Edinburgh.) And he is mentioned as "Regens et Magister A° 1605," in a List of the Masters of the College of Glasgow. (MS. by Principal Dunlop, in Advocates Library.)

idea*. He was succeeded in the school by a connection of his own, Patrick Sharp†, whose literary obligations to Melville have already been noticed‡, and of whom we shall have occasion to speak more fully in a subsequent part of this work.

The grammar school of Edinburgh was originally connected with the Abbey of Holyroodhouse, and the appointment of the teachers was transferred from the abbots to the magistrates of the city. William Robertson, who was head master of the school at the establishment of the Reformation, remained attached to the popish religion, and appears to have been in other respects very unqualified for the situation. The Town Council were anxious to have him removed, that they might place the seminary on a footing more worthy of the metropolis; but they were unable to accomplish this, owing partly to the

* After mentioning that he left the school of Glasgow "a. d. v. Kal. Sept. 1574," Jack goes on to say: "Eo ipso anno, *mense Novembri*, non sine singulari numinis providentia, suæ gentis decus, & pietatis & eruditionis nomine, *Andreas Melvinus* Glascuam venit, qui gymnasio præesset, quem haud dubie in summum suæ Ecclesiæ & Reipub. Scoticanæ commodum eò miserat Deus. Ille, versibus meis perlectis, me instanter urgere non destitit, ut operis frontem ad umbilicum perducerem." Having mentioned the revisal of his work by Buchanan, (See Irving's Mem. of Buchanan, p. 238. 2d. edit.) Jack adds: "Ad *Buchanani* curam accessit & *Andreæ Melvini*, *Roberti Pontani*, & *Hadriani Dammanis* opera, quibus eo nomine me devinctissimum confiteor." Onomasticon Poeticum, Dedic. Epist.

† Jack's widow, in her Testament lately referred to, leaves a legacy to "James Scharp her oy, sone to Mr Patrick Scharp."

‡ See above, p. 77.

support which Robertson received from the Queen, and partly to his having been provided to the place for life. In these circumstances they had recourse to a provisional arrangement, and in the year 1568, they entered into terms with Thomas Buchanan, a nephew of the poet, who was then teaching as a regent at St Andrews, in the College of St Salvator *, and engaged him to take the management of their school. Buchanan was well qualified for bringing the seminary into repute; but he remained only a short time in Edinburgh. Differences having arisen between him and the magistrates as to the terms of their agreement, he was induced to leave them in 1571, and to become master of the grammar school of Stirling, where his uncle now resided. He continued to teach there during eight years with much acceptance and success †. In consequence of the removal of Thomas Buchanan, the High School of Edinburgh fell back to its former state of insignificance. But the friends of learning in the city continued to urge its reformation; and a

* See List of persons educated at St Andrews; in the Appendix.

† G. Robertson, Vita Roberti Rolloci, A 3. Edin. 1599: Rolloci Comment. in Epist. ad Thessalon. Dedic. Epist. Melville's Diary, pp. 38, 91. James Melville calls Thomas Buchanan the *cousing* of George Buchanan; David Buchanan calls him his *brother-german*. (De Scriptoribus Scotis Illust. num. 61. MS. in Advocates Library); but Robert Rollock, who had the best means of information, informs us that he was his *nephew*.— Mr Thomas Duncansone was "schoolmaster and reidar in Striveling," in 1563. Keith, Hist. 531.

commodious house for teaching having been finished in the year 1579, on the spot still occupied by the High School buildings, Robertson was soon after prevailed upon to retire on a pension, and a new and improved plan of education, to which we may afterwards advert, was organized *.

* See the authorities for these statements, respecting the schools of Glasgow and Edinburgh, in Note W.

CHAPTER IV.

1574—1580.

Interest which Melville took in public affairs—his connection with the Church—state of ecclesiastical affairs at his return to Scotland—convention at Leith—tulchan episcopacy—not approved of by the General Assembly—consequences of its obtrusion—sentiments of Melville on church-government—he sits in the General Assembly—the lawfulness of episcopacy attacked—speech of Melville on that occasion—discussions on this subject—episcopacy condemned—proceedings with the bishops—preparation of the Second Book of Discipline—grounds of opposition to it on the part of the court and nobility—approved of by the General Assembly—outline of it—Melville charged with bringing the Geneva discipline into Scotland—degree in which the overthrow of episcopacy was owing to him—remarks on his conduct in that affair—his behaviour to archbishop Boyd—conduct of Adamson—the Regent Morton endeavours to gain Melville—proposes sending him to a General Council in Germany—interview between them—changes in the political administration—death of the chancellor Glammis—the young King shews himself favourable to the proceedings of the church—

measures of the General Assembly for promoting learning—proposal to bring learned printers into the country—Scottish edition of the Bible—proposed reformation of the universities—Melville's translation from Glasgow to St Andrews ordained by the General Assembly.

HITHERTO we have considered Melville chiefly as a literary character: we must now contemplate him in a different light. His immediate object certainly in returning to Scotland was to assist in the revival of literature, and not to take part in the management of public affairs. But he did not think that the attention which he was called on to give to the former necessarily required that he should be altogether indifferent to the latter. He had embraced an academical life from choice; and the situation in which he was placed afforded sufficient gratification to his taste, and ample employment to his time and talents. But partial as he was to literary pursuits, he was not a mere academic, who confines his thoughts within the cloistered walls of his college. From education and from constitution he felt a lively interest in the welfare of his native country, and especially of his native church, to whose bosom he had returned after a long absence, and to whose benefit he had now consecrated his gifts and his labours.

His right to take a share in ecclesiastical man-

agements did not rest merely on his personal gifts, or on the common interest which all the members of a society have in its welfare. He was officially connected with the church of Scotland. During the three last years of his residence in Glasgow he officiated as minister of the church of Govan *. But although this was the only period of his life in which he acted as the pastor of a particular congregation, yet he all along held a public situation in the church as a professor of divinity. Those who taught theology in colleges were considered as belonging to the order of doctors, and under this name were recognized as ecclesiastical office-bearers from the beginning of the Reformation in Scotland. Besides the general superintendence which the church courts exercised over all the seminaries of instruction, founded on the connection between education and religion, they took a peculiar cognizance of the divinity classes, as the immediate nurseries of the ministry; and the teachers of these, if not formally installed by their authority, were at least admitted with their approbation and consent. The professors of divinity had not the power of dispensing the sacraments, unless they were also pastors; but they were entitled to perform the other parts of the pastoral function. They not only preached in public, but they also sat in the church courts, and took part in the judicial declaration of matters of faith, the determination of religious con-

* See above, p. 77.

troversies, and the exercise of discipline. And this they had a right to do in respect of their office as interpreters of Scripture, and their having the oversight of seminaries which formed an integral and important part of the general church. At first, when there was no fixed rule as to the constituent members of the General Assembly, they attended the meetings of that judicatory according as they found opportunity; but afterwards, when the plan of delegation was adopted, they were chosen and sat as commissioners either from the universities in which they taught, or from the provincial synods or presbyteries within whose bounds they resided, and of which they were constituent members *.

It was necessary to make this statement of Melville's right to act in the affairs of the church, because, at a subsequent period, when the court wished to get rid of his powerful opposition to their measures, his right was called in question, and it was alleged that he was admitted to a seat in the church-courts from oversight, indulgence, or courtesy. Nor is there any foundation for the insinuation, that by moving out of his sphere, and intruding into one foreign to his calling, he excited prejudices against his professorial character and literary employment. To such a charge he is not obnoxious, unless it can be shewn that he neglected the duties of his office, or conducted himself improperly in the ecclesiastical assemblies;—faults which the other members, and par-

* Buik of the Universal Kirk, f. 60, b. Dunlop's Collect. of Confessions, vol. ii. pp. 409, 773. Cald. MS. vol. ii. pp. 432, 464.

ticularly the lay-delegates from universities, were equally liable to commit.

To enable the reader to judge of the ecclesiastical transactions in which Melville took such an active part, it will be necessary to give a view of the state in which he found the affairs of the church when he returned to Scotland.

It has been shewn elsewhere, that the church of Scotland, from the beginning of the Reformation, did not acknowledge any permanent ecclesiastical office superior to that of the pastor; that the employment of superintendents was a provisional and temporary expedient, adopted to supply the deficiency of ministers; that the superintendents possessed no episcopal authority, in the common acceptation of that term; that they were ordained in the same manner as other pastors, and derived the special powers with which they were invested from the general assemblies of the church, to which they were made accountable at every meeting for all their managements *. At the establishment of the Reformation, the popish prelates, secular and regular, were allowed to retain the greater part of their revenues, and such of them as remained in the country occupied their seats in parliament, to which they were entitled, in the eye of the law, equally as other lords, as long as their baronial benefices were not forfeited or taken from them by the state. But even those who embraced the reformed doctrines

* Life of John Knox, vol. ii. pp. 7, 283—285.

did not represent the protestant church in parliament; and if they exercised any ecclesiastical authority, it was not in the character of bishops, but in consequence of their having been admitted into the ministry, or of their having received a specific commission from the General Assembly *. This observation may be applied to Deaneries, Rectories, and inferior livings. With the exception of the third part, the incumbents enjoyed their benefices; and, upon joining the protestant church, they were admitted ministers, if found qualified, according to the ordinary forms. In this case, the rank which they had held in the popish church, and the benefices which they continued to enjoy, gave them no precedence or superiority to their brethren; although they might still be called by their old titles in the way of courtesy, or from the power of custom †.

* In 1562, Alexander Gordon, bishop of Galloway, wished to be made superintendent of the province in which his diocese lay; but was refused by the General Assembly. Knox, Historie, p. 327. Keith's Scottish Bishops, p. 166. He was afterwards employed as a visitor.

† In the General Assembly held December 1562, the bishop of Galloway was enrolled after the superintendents, under this designation, "Mr Alexander Gordon, *entituled* Bishop of Galloway." Crawfurd's MS. History of the Church, vol. i. p. 88. —"30 Dec. 1567. Anent the mariage of ye Queine with ye Erle of Bothwell be Adam *callit* Bischop of Orknay, the haill kirk finds y^t^ he transgrest ye act of ye kirk in marieing the divorcit adulterer. And y^r^for depryvis him fra all functioun of the ministrie," &c. Buik of the Universal Kirk, p. 36. In the Assembly, March 1570, the same bishop (after his restoration)

Things continued in this state until the year 1571, when it became necessary to fill several prelacies which were vacated by the death or the forfeiture of the incumbents. The church had already expressed her judgment on the subject, both in the Book of Discipline, and in representations repeatedly made to the Parliament and Privy Council, in which she craved that the bishoprics should be dissolved, and their revenues applied to the support of superintendents and ministers. To this measure the court and the greater part of the nobility were decidedly averse. Accordingly, the vacant bishoprics, and other great benefices, were bestowed on noblemen, who presented certain individuals to them, after they had taken care to secure to themselves a certain portion of their revenues.

These proceedings, as soon as they transpired, were protested against by the commissioners of the church, and they every where excited the greatest dissatisfaction *. Had the church steadily resisted

was accused that he "left the office of preaching, giving himself daily to the exercise of the office of a temporal judge as a Lord of Session, which requireth the whole man, and so rightly no wise can exercise both; and stileth himself with Roman titles, as Reverend Father in God, which pertaineth to no ministers of Christ Jesus, nor is given them in Scriptures."—To this last charge, the bishop answered, "With pardon and reverence of the Assembly, I may declare, I never delighted in such a stile, nor desired any such arrogant title; for I acknowledge myself to be a worm of the earth, not worthy any reverence, giving and attributing to my God only all honour, glory, and reverence with all humble submission." Cald MS. vol. ii. pp. 163, 166.

* Bannatyne's Journal, pp. 254, 259, 285. Knox's letter to

this scheme, and refused to admit the presentees, the patrons would have found themselves placed in a very awkward predicament; for the benefices could be held only by ecclesiastics, and the whole power of admission legally belonged to the superintendents and other ministers. To prevent them from adopting this course, measures of intimidation were tried. The most resolute of the ministers were threatened with punishment, and an order was issued discharging the payment of the thirds of benefices to the collectors of the church *. But this method not succeeding recourse was had to the arts of persuasion and address. An extraordinary meeting of the superintendents and of certain ministers was assembled at Leith, in January 1572, to consult on the best method of pacifying the dissatisfaction which had arisen. This convention, after assuming the powers of a general assembly, was prevailed on hastily to devolve the whole business on a committee, authorizing any four of them to meet with such as might be appointed by the Privy Council, and ratifying whatever they might determine agreeably to their instructions.

The joint committee met in the course of the same month, and came to an agreement on the matters referred to them. They agreed, that, "in consideration of the present time," the titles of archbishops and bishops, and the bounds of dioceses,

the Assembly at Stirling, in Buik of Universall Kirk, p. 53. Hume of Godscroft, Hist. of Douglas and Angus, vol. ii. 217.

* Bannatyne, p. 278. Cald. MS. vol. ii. pp. 284, 295.

should not be altered, at least until the king's majority, or until the parliament should make a different arrangement; that such as were admitted to bishopries should be of due age and of sufficient scriptural qualifications; that they should be chosen by a chapter or assembly of learned ministers; and that they should have no greater jurisdiction than was already committed to superintendents, but should be subject to the general assemblies of the church in spiritual, as they were to the king in temporal matters. They agreed that abbacies and priories should continue in like manner; that provision should be made for the support of ministers in the churches attached to these places; and that as abbots, priors, and commendators formed, along with bishops, the ecclesiastical estate in Parliament and in the College of Justice, their learning and ability should, before their election, be tried by the bishops of the respective provinces within which the monasteries were situated. It was further agreed, that inferior benefices should be conferred only on persons duly qualified and regularly admitted to the ministry; that the churches through the kingdom should be planted, residence secured, and pluralities prevented; and that the revenues of provostries, prebendaries, and chaplainries should be appropriated to the maintenance of bursars at grammar schools and universities. This agreement was immediately confirmed by the Regent and Council, who engaged to persuade the lay

patrons of churches to conform to such of its regulations as concerned them *.

Such was the new ecclesiastical constitution framed by the famous convention at Leith. It was a constitution of the most motely and heterogeneous kind; being made up of presbytery, episcopacy, and papal monkery. Viewed in one light, indeed, it might be deemed harmless. It made little or no alteration on the established discipline of the church. The bishops were invested with no episcopal authority; and if unfit persons were admitted to the office, the General Assembly, to whose jurisdiction they were subjected, might suspend or depose them, and call the chapters to account for their irregular conduct. Nor were the monastic prelates, as such, entitled to a place in the church courts. But in another point of view the innovations were real, and had they been acquiesced in and ratified by the proper authority, they would eventually have overthrown the liberties of the church of Scotland. Even names and titles, empty as they are in themselves, have often great influence from the ideas which have been immemorially combined and associated with them. Limited as the power granted to bishops was, there was every reason

* The act of the Privy Council appointing commissioners to meet with those of the Kirk, is dated January 16, 1571. (Records of Privy Council.) The act of the Convention of the Kirk, (Jan. 15, 1571.) appointing their committee, and the whole of the articles agreed on by the joint committee, are inserted in Cald. MS. vol. ii. pp. 310—325.

to fear that, once admitted, they would make continual efforts to regain the original prerogatives of their order; and that the authority of the church ocurts would prove too feeble for removing them, however unworthy, from their places, or for checking their encroachments, when abetted by nobles who were so deeply interested in their support. The neglect of discipline, or endless jarring, was the inevitable consequence of the establishment of bishops and superintendents within the same provinces, who were clothed with co-ordinate and equal authority, but guided in their proceedings by distinct advisers and different precedents *. By the regulations relating to abbots and priors, titles and dignities generated by the grossest superstition, and rendered odious by the powerful support which they had given to papal corruption and tyranny, were recognized as in some sort pertaining to a church which boasted of having removed the slightest vestiges of popery †. The

* "In Marche immediatilie following (the convention at Leith), the Assemblie continuit still the superintendents, so that there was in on diocese ane Bishop and 3 Superintendents, quhilk he maketh Bishops." The Replye of ane Dotatist (sic) to Mr Cowper his Dicaiologie, p. 27. MS. in Advocates Library. Comp. Cald. MS. vol. ii. p. 344. Soon after John Douglas was made bishop of St Andrews, John Winram came to be designed Superintendent of Strathern, instead of Fife.

† The framers of the Articles of Leith appear to have been aware of this incongruity, and accordingly take care to express themselves in very general terms as to the qualifications of the candidate for this religious office. They merely say that the bishop of the province where the abbey or priory lies, shall "try and

civil places of churchmen, which had always been condemned by our reformers, were sanctioned; and the church was to be represented in parliament and in the courts of justice, not only by bishops, but also by monkish prelates over whom she had no direct controul, and whose official names it would have been reckoned profane to introduce into the roll of her General Assembly. The design of securing the richest portion of the benefices to the court, its friends and dependants, which gave rise to the whole scheme, and which is the only thing that can account for its strange incongruities, did not appear in any part of its details. This was tacitly understood, and left to be provided for by secret treaty between individual patrons and presentees. The calf's skin alone appeared; the straw with which it was stuffed was carefully concealed, lest the cow should have refused to give her milk

examinat his *learning and abilitie.*" For the same reason they excluded entirely from their consideration the case of Nunneries, not knowing what place in the church to assign to the right reverend Abbesses and Prioresses. There is a curious document with relation to these, after the death of Dame Christiane Ballenden "Prioress of the Priorissie of the Senis besyde the burrowmure of Edin^r." "James erll of Mortone &c. understanding that in the conventioun of the Statis of yis realme consideratioun being had that the nunreis ar nocht meit to be conferit and gevin to wemen according to the first foundatioun in tyme of ignorance," &c. appoints "capitane Ninian cockburne his bienes chalmerlan and factor to the said priorissie of the Senis" &c. May 31. 1575. (Register of Privy Seal, vol. 43. fol. 10.)

* In allusion to the custom in the Highlands of Scotland of placing a calf's skin stuffed with straw, called a *Tulchan*, before

This mongrel species of prelacy cannot meet the approbation of any true episcopalian. Though certain eager advocates of primitive order and the uninterrupted succession of the hierarchy have persisted in maintaining that episcopacy always existed in Scotland, and in support of this plea have appealed, among other things, to the transaction at Leith, yet they have generally shewn themselves reluctant and shy in claiming kindred with the tulchan prelates, whenever their true original and real condition have been fairly exposed. And indeed how could they acknowledge as legitimate bishops men who possessed as little of the episcopal power as they did of the episcopal revenues, who were subject to the authority of an assembly composed of pretended presbyters and mere laics, by whom they were liable to be tried, censured, suspended, and deposed, and who, in one word, were utterly destitute of canonical consecration * ?

cows to induce them to give their milk, those who occupied the episcopal office at this time were called *Tulchan Bishops*. Cald. MS. ii. 349.

* It is proper, however, that facts should be stated; and there are two which may be weighed by those who are disposed to lay stress on such things. 1. John Winram took part in the inauguration of John Douglas as bishop of St Andrews. Now, Winram was *popishly*, and in consequence *episcopally* and canonically ordained. He was also Sub-prior of the Abbey of St Andrews, and, as such, Vicar General during the vacancy of the see. Will not these two circumstances, joined to the *tertium quid* of his being a Superintendent, make him, if not *formaliter*, at least *virtualiter*, a Bishop? 2. Robert Stewart, bishop of Caithness, was present, and actually laid his hands on Douglas's

The articles agreed on at Leith were laid before the General Assembly which met at St Andrews in March, and at Perth in August, 1572. At the last of these meetings the Assembly, after hearing the report of a committee appointed to examine the subject, came to the following resolution: That the articles recognized certain names, such as archbishop, dean, archdean, chancellor, and chapter, which were thought slanderous and offensive to the ears of many of the brethren; therefore, the whole Assembly, as well those that were in commission at Leith as others, protest that they meant not, by using such names, to ratify, consent, and agree, to any kind of papistry or superstition, and wish rather the said names to be changed into others that are not slanderous and offensive; and in like manner

head. (Bannatyne's Journal, p. 324.) Now, the most rigid canonists allow that the legal quorum of three may be dispensed with in a case of necessity. But there is one flaw remaining which cannot be so easily removed—the bishop of Caithness himself, it seems, was *never consecrated*, nay, "he never was *in priest's orders!*" (Keith's Catalogue of Scottish Bishops, p. 128.) The truth appears to be that the Scots have always shewn a peculiar and constitutional incapacity for the difficult task of making bishops, and the work has never succeeded in their hands without assistance from York, Lambeth, or Rome. It long since venerable Bede apologized for this by observing that we did such things "*more inusitato.*" A presbyterian may be allowed to smile on this subject, when even Keith, a bishop of the true stamp, and not over-given to be witty, could not help remarking, that "it is a little diverting" to observe a commission given to one who was not "vested with any sacred character at all, to assist in the consecration of other men to the sacred office of Bishops." (Catalogue, ut supra.)

protest that the said heads and articles agreed on be received only as an *Interim*, till farther order may be obtained at the hands of the king's majesty, regent, and nobility, for which they will press as occasion shall serve. This declaration and protest the Assembly extended to the titles and functions of abbots and priors *.

The evils which this new and inauspicious settlement was calculated to produce were soon apparent to the most simple and unsuspecting. The sees were generally filled, as might have been anticipated, by persons who were unqualified, some by youth and others by extreme age, some by want of talent and others by want of character †. They incurred public odium by consenting to become the tools of the court, and by the simoniacal pactions which they were known or suspected to have made with those to whom they were indebted for their presentations. At every meeting of the General Assembly, com-

* Buik of the Universall Kirk, f. 55. Cald. MS. vol. ii. p.

† Douglas, archbishop of St Andrews, was superannuated. Campbell, bishop of Brechin, was a youth, and needed to be put under the tuition of the superintendent of Angus. (Cald. MS. vol. ii. p. 471.) George Douglas, bishop of Murray, was under process for immorality, and continued under trials for years without giving satisfaction as to his gifts. (Ib. ib. pp. 473, 478.) "The yeir efter, was maid bischope Geordie of Murro, whom I saw a haill wintar mumling on his pretching of his papers everie day at our morning prayers, and haid it not weill parecur when all was done." (Melville's Diary, p. 27.) Alexander Hepburn, bishop-elect of Ross, delivered his trials before the General Assembly, and gave good satisfaction. (Cald. MS. vol. ii. p. 458.)

plaints were made against them, or censures inflicted on them for neglect of duty, transgression of the laws in the admission of ministers, interference with superintendents in the exercise of discipline, simony, or the alienation of the property of the church. Those who had agreed to the proposal of the court at Leith, in the hopes that churches would be planted and stipends appointed, were mortifyingly disappointed. The patrons of benefices not being bound by any law, refused to comply with the regulations. And the Regent, instead of using his influence, as he had promised, to procure their compliance, encouraged them by his conduct to persevere in their refusal. Having, under a deceitful pretext, got the management of the thirds of benefices out of the hands of the collectors appointed by the church, he united a number of parishes under the care of one minister, assisted by readers to whom a trifling salary was allotted. The ministers complained loudly of these abuses, and consulted on the most proper means of checking them. Upon which, Morton accused them of seditious and treasonable speeches, withdrew his countenance from their assemblies, began to call in question their right to meet and transact business without his express allowance, and advanced a claim to the same supremacy over the church in Scotland which had been declared to belong to the inherent prerogative of the sovereign in England *.

* Buik of the Universall Kirk, p. 58. Cald. MS. vol. ii. pp. 398—403, 413—423, 454.

In this confused and unsettled state were the affairs of the church when Melville revisited his native country. Two years before this period, the individual whom providence raised up to enlighten and reform Scotland had rested from his labours. The "dead hand" and dying voice of Knox were employed in protesting against a system which he foresaw would debase the purity and endanger the existence of that ecclesiastical establishment which he had contributed to rear with unwearied exertion, and whose safety he had watched over with the most uncorrupted fidelity. The loss sustained by his removal was soon severely felt. There still remained a number of excellent men, sincerely attached to the principles upon which the Reformation had been established in Scotland, and not incapable of defending them. But there was wanting an individual inheriting a portion of the ardent and intrepid spirit of the Reformer, capable of giving an impulse and a direction to public sentiment, and possessing decision of mind to execute, as well as sagacity to discern, those measures which were requisite to restore the church to her liberties, and to fix her authority on a proper and solid basis.

All were convinced that things ought not to remain on their present footing, but it was not so easy to come to an agreement respecting the change which was needed and the best way of effecting it. Three questions rose out of the present conjuncture of affairs. The first related to the superiority of

bishops above other ministers; the second to invasions on the property of the church; and the third to the encroachments made on her authority. But although these questions may appear to be distinct, yet the two last were in reality involved in the first, or at least were inseparably connected with it on the present occasion. It was by setting up bishops, and by the share which they consequently had in the admission of ministers, that the court expected chiefly to succeed in their designs on the patrimony of the church. And whatever they may have found it prudent to give out, or whatever a few individuals may have really felt, the great reason which has induced rulers to prefer episcopacy is the superior facility with which it enables them to exert an unlimited sway over the clergy, and, through them, over the sentiments and feelings of the people. It was in this light that Melville appears to have viewed the subject.

He was satisfied in his judgment that prelacy had no foundation in the Scriptures, and that, viewed as a human expedient, its tendency was dangerous and hurtful to the interests of religion. He knew that the words *bishop* and *presbyter* are interchangeably used in the New Testament, and that the most popular arguments for the divine origin of episcopacy are founded on ignorance of the original language of Scripture *. He was persuaded with Jerom and

* Acts, xx. 17, 28. 1 Pet. v. 1, 2. In the venerable Syriac version called the Peshito, επισκοποι is translated "the elders," and επισκοπη "the office of an elder." Philip. i. 1. 1 Tim.

other Christian Fathers, that all ministers of the gospel were at first equal*; and though he knew that a certain pre-eminence was, at an early period, given to one of the college of presbyters over the rest, with the view or under the pretext of preserving unity, yet he was convinced that this device had oftener bred dissention, and fostered a spirit of ambition and avarice among the clergy. He knew from ecclesiastical history, that, for a considerable time after this change took place, bishops were parochial and not diocesan; and he was satisfied, that the same principles which justify, and the same measures which led to the extension of the bishop's power over all the pastors of a diocese, will justify and lead to the establishment of an archbishop, metropolitan, or patriarch over a province or kingdom, and of a universal bishop, or pope, over the whole Christian world. He had witnessed the good effects of presbyterian parity at Geneva and in France. He regarded the maintenance of the hierarchy in England as a principal cause of the rarity of preaching, the poverty of the lower orders of the clergy, pluralities, want of discipline, and other abuses which produced dissentions and heart-burnings in that flourishing kingdom. And he was convinced

iii. 1. "This proves (says Dr Marsh) that the Syriac translator understood his original, and that *he made a proper distinction between that of the primitive and that of the hierarchical church.*" Michaelis, Introduction to the New Testament, vol. ii. pp. 32, 553. Lond. 1802.

* See Note X.

that the best and the only effectual way of redressing the grievances which at present afflicted the church of Scotland, and of preventing their return, was to strike at the root of the evil, by abolishing prelacy, and restoring that parity of rank and authority which existed at the beginning among all the pastors of the church. By conversation he ascertained that a number of the ministers coincided with him in these views; and he considered that he was at liberty, and that it was duty, to embrace every proper opportunity of inculcating and enforcing them upon such as doubted of their truth, or scrupled the propriety of reducing them to practice.

Melville sat as a member of the General Assembly which was held at Edinburgh in March 1575, being the first meeting of that judicatory after his admission to the College of Glasgow. This Assembly resumed the subject of ecclesiastical polity which had formerly been under consideration *. The conviction that something behoved to be done in this matter was now become so general and strong, that a Convention of Estates, held a few days before, had voted that great inconveniences had arisen, and were likely to increase, from the want of a decent and comely government in the church; and had appointed a committee, consisting of laymen and ministers, to draw up a form of ecclesiastical polity agreeable to the word of God, and

* Cald. MS. vol. ii. pp. 436—7.

adapted to the state of the country *. The General Assembly appointed a committee of their number to meet with the Regent's commissioners, enjoining them to wait on the business, and to transmit to the ministers of the different provinces any overtures that might be made. But though they had no objection to concur with the government, they considered the subject as one that properly belonged to themselves, and therefore appointed such brethren as had studied the question most particularly to meet and prepare a draught to be laid before the Assembly. Melville was a member of this committee, which was renewed from time to time, and whose labours at last produced the second book of Discipline †.

At the next Assembly, in August 1575, when it was proposed to proceed, as usual, to the trial of the bishops, John Dury, one of the ministers of Edinburgh, rose and protested that the examination

* Act. Parl. Scot. vol. iii. p. 89. In the writ of Privy Seal respecting the Chalmerlanrie of the Senis, formerly referred to, after quoting from the act of the convention, it is added: "In consideratioun of the guid intentiõun to constitute and establish a godlie and decent ecclesiasticall polecy for ordoring and governing of the kirk within this realm, and that na thing quhilk myt hinder the samin wald be done in the meyn tyme It was concludit that the saidis nunries and vtheris abbayis or prioreis now vacand or that heirefter happenis to vaik sall nocht be disponit nor geven in titell to ony maner of persoun or personis but remane vacand quhill the constitutioun and establising of the said ecclesiasticall polecy. As the Act maid heirvpoun purportis," &c. (Register of Privy seal.) Comp. Act. Parl. Scot. iii. 90.

† Melville's Diary, p. 42. Cald. MS. vol. ii. p. 457.

of the conduct of the bishops should not pre-judge what he and other brethren had to object against the lawfulness of their office*. Either on this occasion, or at a subsequent sederunt, Melville addressed the Assembly in a speech of considerable length, in which he supported Dury's proposition, and stated his own sentiments respecting episcopacy. This speech, which was listened to with the utmost attention, made a deep impression †. The question was immediately proposed, Whether bishops, as they are now in Scotland, have their function of the word of God, or not; and whether the chapters appointed for electing them ought to be tolerated in a reformed church. For the better resolution of this question the Assembly agreed, that it should be reasoned on by a select number on each side, and nominated John Craig, who had been Knox's colleague, but was at this time minister of Aberdeen, James Lawson, one of the ministers of Edinburgh, and Andrew Melville, on the negative, and George Hay, commissioner of Caithness, John Row, minister of Perth, and David Lindsay, of Leith, on the affirmative side of the question. After two days, the committee presented their report, bearing, that they did not think it expedient for the present to give a direct answer to the first part of the question, but were of opinion that, if unfit persons were chosen as bishops, they ought to be tried anew and deposed

* Buik of the Universall Kirk, p. 62.
† Spotswood, Hist. p. 275.

by the General Assembly *. They farther reported, that they had agreed on the following points respecting the office of a bishop or superintendent; First, that the name of bishop is common to all who are appointed to take charge of a particular flock, in preaching the word, administering the sacraments, and exercising discipline with the consent of their elders; and that this is the chief function of bishops, according to the word of God. Second, that out of this number some may be chosen to visit such reasonable bounds, besides their own flock, as the General Assembly shall allot to them; to admit ministers, with the consent of the ministers in their respective bounds, and of the particular congregations concerned; to admit elders and deacons where there were none, with the consent of the people; and to suspend ministers, for just causes, with the consent of their brethren in the district. The consideration of this report was deferred until next meeting of Assembly. There were six bishops present, none of whom offered any defence of the episcopal office †. In April 1576, the Assembly, after deliberation, approved of and adopted the report of the committee in all its parts; and for carrying it

* In Spotswood's History, p. 176, it is, "if any bishop was chosen that had not qualities required by the word of God, *he should be tried by the General Assembly.*" But in the Archbishop's MS. it stands thus; "*he should be tried de novo by the Assembly, and deposed from his place.*" Wodrow's Life of Andrew Melville, p. 9. MSS. vol. i. Bibl. Coll. Glas.

† Buik of Univ. Kirk, p. 64. Cald. MS. vol. ii. pp. 470, 472. Spotswood, p. 276.

into effect, ordained that such of the bishops as had not taken the charge of a single congregation, should now make choice of one. From this time the Assembly followed up their decision until they formally abolished the episcopal office, In April 1578, they agreed that the bishops should for the future be addressed in the same style as other ministers, and in case of a vacancy occurring in any bishoprick, they discharged the chapters from proceeding to a new election before next meeting of Assembly. At length, the General Assembly which met at Dundee, in July 1580, found and declared the office of a Bishop, as then used and commonly understood, to be destitute of warrant from the word of God, and a human invention tending to the great injury of the church; ordained the bishops to demit their pretended office *simpliciter*, and to receive admission *de novo* to the ministerial office, under the pain of excommunication after due admonition; and appointed the places and times at which they should appear before the provincial synods, and signify their submission to this act. This resolution was come to by "the whole assembly in one voice, after liberty given to all men to reason in the matter, none opposing himself in defending the said pretended office." Nor did the king's Commissioner, who was present in the Assembly, make the smallest opposition to the procedure *.

It was of great importance to the success of this

* Buik of the Univ. Kirk, p. 95. Cald. MS. vol. ii. pp. 620—1. Melville's Diary, p. 62. Spotswood, Hist. p. 311. In consequence of a difficulty expressed by some individuals as to

measure, that the Assembly should procure the submission of the incumbents in the different sees. This was no easy task, as in addition to the reluctance which all men feel to relinquish power, the bishops were on the present occasion encouraged to resistance by the court and nobility. Notwithstanding this, so active were the agents appointed by the Assembly, that the submission of the whole order, with the exception of five, was obtained in the course of the year in which the act abolishing episcopacy passed *.

While they were taking these decisive steps in abolishing episcopacy, the Assembly were actively employed in maturing their plan of church government. In April 1576, the committee entrusted with this business was enlarged. It was divided into four sub-committees, to meet in Glasgow, Edinburgh, St Andrews, and Montrose; who, after preparing materials, were to send delegates to a general meeting at Stirling, where the whole was to be examined, revised, and put into proper form. The result of their labours was laid before the General Assembly, who spent the greater part of several meet-

the exact import of the act condemning episcopacy, the General Assembly which met at Glasgow in April 1581, (consisting "for the most part" of the same individuals who had been present in the Assembly at Dundee) declared, "that they meant *haillelie* to condemne the estate of bischops as they are now in Scotland, and y^{t} ye same was ye determination of ye kirk at y^{t} time." Buik of Univ. Kirk, f. 101, a. Spotswood has not given a faithful account of this explanation. Hist. p. 316.

* Buik of Univ. Kirk, f. 100, b. Cald. MS. vol. ii. p. 636.

ings in examining and correcting the draught, discussing those points which were doubtful or disputed *, listening to objections, receiving hints from whatever quarter they came, and, in short, adopting every means for rendering the platform as perfect and unexceptionable as possible. During these deliberations, Morton, with the view of embarrassing their proceedings, gave in a paper containing forty-two questions relating to the government of the church, to which he required answers. Although the greater part of these questions were evidently captious and frivolous †, the Assembly, to shew their respect to the Regent, appointed a committee to

* The heads of *patronage*, *divorce*, and *the office of deacons*, were most obnoxious to the court, and consequently were made the subject of longest discussion. The ground of objection to the last of these heads was that it gave the management of the patrimony of the church to the deacons.

† The following is a specimen of these questions, which were supposed to have been drawn up by Adamson: "Ought there to be any degrees of dignity and order among ministers, in respect of learning, age, or places, where they make residence? How far may the ministers, elders, and deacons of every particular kirk or paroch proceed, and in what causes? How many G. Assemblies ought there to be within a kingdom? by whom should they be convocate? for what cause? What form of summoning and proceeding? &c. What is the proper patrimony of the kirk? Shall ministers' stipends be alike in quantity, because they are thought to be alike in dignity? What is Symony? Whether may a man be both a minister and a reader, or ane officer at arms, or a Lord or Laird's steward, Griefe, pantryman or porter? Whether has the city of Geneva committed sacrilege or not, in appointing the rents or tiends of their Bishoprick to their common thesaury, paying but a certain portion thereof to the stipend of their ministers?" Cald. MS. vol. ii. pp. 503—507.

answer them; but they did not suffer themselves to be diverted from their main business. Perceiving their determination, Morton altered his conduct, or at least his language, signifying that he "liked well of their travels and labour in that matter," and requiring them to use all expedition to complete the work which they had begun. The work was completed accordingly, and received the sanction of the General Assembly, at their meeting held in the Magdalene Chapel of Edinburgh in April 1578, and of which Melville was Moderator *. From this time, the Book of Policy, as it was then styled, or Second Book of Discipline, although not ratified by the Privy Council or Parliament, was regarded by the Church as exhibiting her authorized form of government, and the subsequent Assemblies took steps for carrying its arrangements into effect, by erecting Presbyteries throughout the kingdom, and committing to them the oversight of all ecclesiastical affairs within their bounds, to the exclusion of bishops, superintendents, and visitors †.

The First Book of Discipline, though an admira-

* Buik of Univ. Kirk, pp. 73—4. Cald. MS. ii. 529.

† Among the overtures made by the Synod of Lothian to the General Assembly in July 1579, was the following: "A general order to be taken for erecting of Presbyteries in places where Publick Exercise is used, until the tyme the Policie of the Kirk be established be law." To this the Assembly answered: "The Exercise may be judged a Presbyterie." Cald. MS. vol. ii. p. 501. Buik of Univ. Kirk, p. 74. In October 1579, the Assembly requested the Clerk Register to assist their Commissioners "to lay down and devise a plan of the Presbyteries and constitution thereof." Cald. ii. 641. In April 1581, the laird of

ble composition for the time, was hastily compiled to meet the emergency caused by the triumph of the protestant interest over the popish hierarchy *. Several arrangements of a provisional description were necessarily introduced into it, while others, which subsequent experience shewed to be of great importance, were unavoidably omitted †. The Second Book of Discipline was drawn up with great deliberation and care, by persons who had studied the subject with much attention, and had leisure to digest their views. It is methodically arranged, and the propositions under each head are expressed with perspicuity, conciseness and precision.

It begins by laying down the essential line of dis-

Caprington, the King's Commissioner, presented to the Assembly, "certane rolls concerning the planting of the Kirks, and the number of the Presbiteries;" and the same Assembly ordained, that "the booke of policie aggreit to befor in divers assemblies sould be registrat in acts of the kirk, and to remane y^r^in ad perpetuam rei memoriam, and the copies y^r^of to be takin be every Presbyterie, of the qlk booke the tenour followes," &c. Buik of Univ. Kirk, f. 101, b. 104, b. Melville's Diary, p. 67.

* The order of the Privy Council, directing the ministers to draw it up, was issued April 26. 1560, and the work was finished on the 20th of May following. The First and Second Book of Discipline, pp. 23, 70. Printed anno 1621.

† The ministers were fully sensible of this defect, and accordingly at almost every assembly from 1563 to 1575, when the Second Book of Discipline began to be prepared, resolutions were made as to the necessity of defining the jurisdiction, and settling the polity of the church after a more perfect form. See the acts of Assembly prefixed to the First and Second Booke of Discipline, printed anno 1621. The reader will also find in that work ample information as to the proceedings of the Assembly, and its committees, in compiling the Second Book of Discipline.

distinction between civil and ecclesiastical power. Jesus Christ, it declares, has appointed a government in his church, distinct from civil government, which is to be exercised in his name by such office-bearers as he has authorized, and not by civil magistrates, or under their direction. Civil authority has for its direct and proper object the promoting of external peace and quietness among the subjects, ecclesiastical authority, the directing of men in matters of religion and which pertain to conscience; the former enforces obedience by external means, the latter by spiritual means; yet as they "be both of God, and tend to one end, if they be rightly used, *viz*, to advance the glory of God, and to have good and godly subjects," they ought to cooperate within their respective spheres and fortify each other. "As ministers are subject to the judgment and punishment of the magistrate in external things, if they offend, so ought the magistrates to submit themselves to the discipline of the kirk, if they transgress in matters of conscience and religion." —The government of the church consists in three things; doctrine, to which is annexed the administration of the sacraments, discipline, and distribution. Corresponding to this division, there are three kinds of church officers; ministers, who are preachers, elders, who are merely governors, and deacons, who act as distributers of alms and managers of the funds of the church. The name *bishop* is of the same import as that of *pastor* or *minister*; it is not expressive of superiority or lordship; and the Scriptures do not allow of a pastor of pastors, or a pastor

of many flocks. Connected with the pastor, who dispenses the word and sacraments, is the doctor or teacher, whose function lies in expounding the Scriptures, defending the truth, and instructing the youth, particularly in schools, colleges, and universities. There should be elders who do not labour in word and doctrine; they ought to assist the pastor in examining those who come to the Lord's table, and in visiting the sick; but "their principal office is to hold assemblies with the pastors and doctors, who are also of their number, for establishing good order and execution of discipline."—The office-bearers of the church are to be admitted by election and ordination. None are to be intruded into any office, "contrary to the will of the congregation to which they are appointed." "The ceremonies of ordination are fasting, earnest prayer, and the imposition of the hands of the eldership," or presbytery.—Ecclesiastical assemblies are either particular, consisting of the office-bearers of one congregation or of a number of neighbouring congregations, provincial, national, or ecumenical and general. It is not thought absolutely necessary, that there should be a stated assembly or session in country congregations; but each ought to have its own elders *.

* "When we speake of the Elders of the particular congregations, we mean not that every particular parish kirk can or may have their own particular Eldershipps, especially in Landward; but wee think three, foure, moe or fewer, particular kirks, may have one Eldership common to them all, to judge their Ecclesiasticall causes. Yet this is meet, that some of the Elders be chosen out of every particular congregation, to concurre with

The Presbytery, or Eldership, as it is called, has the inspection of a number of adjoining congregations in every thing relating to religion and manners, and has the power of ordaining and deposing ministers, and of exercising discipline within its bounds. The Provincial Synod possesses the collective power of all the presbyteries within a province, and consequently may handle and redress whatever has been done amiss by any of them. The General Assembly, or "general eldership of the whole churches in the realm," takes cognizance of what has been done amiss by the provincial assemblies, and treats of every thing that is connected with the welfare of the national church. "None are subject to repair to this assembly to vote but ecclesiastical persons only *, to such a number as shall be thought good by the same assembly;" but none are excluded from being present in it "to propone, hear, and reason." All the ecclesiastical assemblies have lawful power to convene for transacting business, and to appoint the times and places of their meeting. In each of them a moderator is to be chosen by common consent of the brethren, to propose the causes, gather the votes, and cause good order to be kept.—The patrimony of the church includes whatever has been appropriated to her use, whether by donations

the rest of their brethren in the common assembly, and to take up the delations of offences within their owne kirks, and bring them to the assembly. This we gather of the practice of the primitive kirk, where Elders or colledges of Seniors were constitute in cities and famous places." Chap. 7.

* "The eldership is a spirituall function as is the ministrie."

from individuals, or by laws and usage. To take any part of this by unlawful means, and apply it to the particular and profane use of individuals, is simony. It belongs to the deacons to receive the ecclesiastical goods, and to distribute them according to the appointment of presbyteries. The purposes to which they are to be applied are the four following: the support of ministers; the support of elders and other church-officers, as far as this may be found necessary, and of teachers of theology and schoolmasters, provided the ancient foundations for education are insufficient; the maintenance of the poor and of hospitals; and lastly, the reparation of places of worship, and other extraordinary charges of the church or commonwealth.—Among the abuses which ought to be removed the following are specified, the titles of abbots and others connected with monastic institutions, with the places which they held, as churchmen, in the courts of legislature and judicature; deans and others attached to cathedral and collegiate churches; the usurped superiority of bishops, and their acting in parliament and council in the name of the church, without her commission *; the exercise of criminal justice and the pastoral office by the same individuals; the mixed jurisdiction of commissaries; pluralities; and patronages and

* "We denie not in the meane time, but Ministers may and should assist their Princes when they are required, in all things agreeable to the Word, whether it be in Councell or Parliament, or otherwayes, providing alwayes they neither neglect their owne charges, nor through flattery of Princes, hurt the publick estate of the Kirk." Chap. ii.

presentations to benefices, whether by the prince or any inferior person, which lead to intrusion, and are inconsistent with "lawful election, and the assent of the people over whom the person is placed, as the practice of the apostolical and primitive kirk, and good order craves."

Such is the outline of the presbyterian plan of church-government, as delineated in the Second Book of Discipline. Its leading principles rest upon the express authority of the word of God. Its subordinate arrangements are supported by the general rules of Scripture—they are simple, calculated to preserve order and promote edification, and adapted to the circumstances of the church for which they were intended. It is equally opposed to arbitrary and lordly domination on the part of the clergy, and to popular confusion and misrule. It secures the liberty of the people in one of their most important privileges, the choosing of those who shall watch for their souls, without making them the final judges of the qualifications of those who shall be invested with this office. While it establishes an efficient discipline in every congregation, it also preserves that unity which ought to subsist among the different branches of the church of Christ, secures attention to those numerous cases which are of common concern and general utility, and provides a remedy against particular acts of injustice and maleadministration arising from local partialities and limited information, by the institution of larger assemblies, acting as courts of appeal and review, in which the

interests of all are equally represented, and each enjoys the benefit resulting from the collective wisdom of the whole body. It encourages a friendly co-operation between the civil and ecclesiastical authorities; but it, at the same time, avoids the confounding of their limits, prohibits church-courts from "meddling with any thing pertaining to the civil jurisdiction," establishes their independence in all matters which belong to their cognizance, and guards against, what is the great bane of religion and curse of the church, a priesthood which is merely the organized puppet of the state, and moves and acts only as it is directed by a political administration. It is a form of ecclesiastical polity whose practical utility has been proportional to the purity in which its principles have been maintained. Accordingly, it has secured the cordial and lasting attachment of the people of Scotland; whenever it has been wrested from them by arbitrary violence, they have uniformly embraced the first favourable opportunity of demanding its restoration; and the principal secessions which have been made from the national church in this part of the kingdom have been stated, not in the way of dissent from its constitution, as in England, but in opposition to departures, real or alleged, from its original and genuine principles.

Hierarchical writers do more honour to Melville than he is fairly entitled to, when they ascribe the overthrow of episcopacy, and the erection of presbytery, solely to his authority and exertions. Yet the leading part which he took in the work, and the high degree in which its success was owing to his zeal and

ability, will justify the details into which we have thought it proper to enter. He was on all the committees employed in collecting materials for the book of polity, and in reducing them into form. He was present at most of the conferences held on the subject with members of the Privy Council and Parliament. He had a principal share in all the discussions and debates that occurred, both in private and public, on the articles which were most keenly disputed and opposed. And he subjected himself to great personal fatigue and expence and odium, during a series of years which were spent in completing the work and in procuring its reception *. Indeed, he regarded his exertions in this cause as the greatest service which he could perform to his country; and for the sake of advancing it, he cheerfully sacrificed the gratification which he felt in prosecuting his studies, and the prospects of personal fame which he might have acquired by engaging in literary undertakings.

It is natural to suppose that the eagerness and success with which Melville laboured in the erection of the presbyterian system would render him obnoxious in the eyes of the adherents of episcopacy. Accordingly, writers of that persuasion have en-

* "And in deid that mater cost him exceeding greit peans, bathe in mynd, body, and gear, during the space of fyve or sax yair, w^t the gean of the Regent Erl of Morton and his bischopes vtter indignation. Yit w^t the wonderful assistance of God he bure it out till the abolishing of bischopes and establissing of the Presbyteries according to the word of God. Wharby he gatt the name of σπισκοποματιξ, episcoporum exactor, the slinger out of bishops." Melville's Diary, p. 42.

deavoured, by their representations of his conduct on this occasion, to excite prejudices against his character and the cause which he promoted. Archbishop Spotswood, whose ambitious views he long crossed, and who has never mentioned his name with temper in the course of his history, set an example of this treatment; and we shall quote his words, which subsequent writers of the same persuasion have done little more than repeated. "In the church this year began the innovations to break forth that to this day have kept it in a continual unquietness. Mr. Andrew Melvil, who was lately come from Geneva, a man learned (chiefly in the tongues) but hot and eager upon any thing he went about, laboring with a burning desire to bring into this church the presbyterian discipline of Geneva; and having insinuated himself into the favor of divers preachers, he stirred up John Dury, one of the ministers of Edinburgh, in an Assembly which was then convened, to propound a question touching the lawfulness of the episcopal function, and the authority of chapters in their election. He himself, as though he had not been acquainted with the motion, after he had commended the speakers zeal, and seconded the purpose with a long discourse of the flourishing estate of the church of Geneva, and the opinions of Calvin and Theodore Beza concerning church-government," &c. *

A few remarks on the several articles of this libel will throw additional light on Melville's conduct in

* Spotswood, Hist. p. 275.

the whole of this affair. It is insinuated, that the church was in a tranquil state when he arrived in the country; and, indeed, if we had no other source of information as to these times than the archbishop's history, we might be ready to conclude that this was really the case. But we have already seen from the most undoubted authorities, from acts of assembly and acts of parliament as well as from private writings, that the state of matters was quite the reverse, and that great dissatisfactions existed in the church previous to his arrival. Was it Melville who instigated those who protested against the consecration of Douglas at St Andrews*, and the whole Assembly which at Perth protested against the titles of archbishops, deans, and chapters? Was it Melville who struck the blow at the civil power and places of bishops, which they have always regarded as among their dearest privileges? Was it not the archbishop's own father who moved and carried in the General Assembly, August 1573, (when there was no visible emissary from Geneva to incite him) "that it was neither agreeable to the word of God, nor to the practice of the primitive church, for one man to occupy the charges of a minister of the gospel and of a civil or criminal judge†?" a sentiment of which it was the great ambition of his son to afford a practical and glaring contradiction.

But Melville laboured "to bring into this church the presbyterian discipline of Geneva." Or, as the archbishop expresses it in another publication, "His

* Bannatyne, pp. 323, 331. † Petrie, P. iii. p. 889.

mind being imbued with the institutions of that city, to which he had been long accustomed, he strained every nerve to bring our church to the nearest possible conformity with Geneva in point of discipline, not adverting to the difference between a kingdom and a republic*." This is the same allegation which has been made with respect to the settlement of our Reformation by Knox. It was first brought forward by Hooker, in his controversy with the English Presbyterians, but with great modesty, and expressions of high respect for the Genevan Reformer †. It was afterwards urged, but in a very different spirit, by Bancroft; and it has been retailed with unvarying and monotonous uniformity by episcopalian writers down to the present day. They would have gained more credit to their cause among the judicious, if they had rested its defence upon the authority of Scripture and reason, and left the use of such *prejugez legitimes* wholly to Roman Catholics, from whom they learned

* Refutatio Libelli de Regimine Ecclesiæ Scoticanæ, p. 31. Calderwood, in his reply to this tract, remarks dryly, "If Melville, by the force of custom during five years residence at Geneva, became so enamoured with its discipline, is it not strange that John Spotswood should have been so easily induced to desert the Scots discipline, to which he had been habituated for more than ten years? The reason is to be sought for in the different disposition of the men, not in their education. *Discrimen in ingeniis, non in disciplina, fuit.*" Epistolæ Philadelphi Vind. apud Altare Damasc. p. 731. edit. 2.

† Preface to Ecclesiastical Polity, § 2. a section which those who are accustomed to disparage Calvin, and eulogize Hooker, with equal ignorance of both, may do well to read.

it, and whose cause would have been ruined but for the magic influence of the question, "Where was your church before Luther?" But if it is necessary to bring the controversy to this test, presbyterians surely have no peculiar reason to blush, or to be ashamed of their descent. Where was the bishop in Scotland or in England, during the sixteenth century, that could be compared with Calvin, or with Beza, either in point of talents or of learning, of skill in the Scriptures or acquaintance with ecclesiastical history and the writings of the fathers? If the Reformers of Scotland were so unfortunate as to imbibe erroneous sentiments at Geneva, what was the enlightened school, and where the pure fountain, to which the English Reformers had access, and at which they were so happy as to drink the unpolluted doctrines of revelation? That Knox and Melville were greatly indebted to Calvin and Beza, and that they admired the religious order and discipline established in Geneva, I do not wish to deny; but that they implicitly adopted and slavishly imitated the institutions which they had seen in that city, is an assertion which argues gross ignorance both of the men and the subject. If Melville had laboured merely to introduce a foreign institute, why did he bestow so much pains in studying the subject, or how came it about that he was always so ready and so able to maintain what he recommended upon higher and more sacred grounds? The ecclesiastical polity of Geneva and of Scotland agreed in their radical principles. But those who are accurately acquainted with both, know

that they differed in some points in which they might have been made accordant; and that, owing to the great diversity of their circumstances, the one could not be an exact and fit model for the other. Within the small territory of Geneva there was no room and no occasion for the parochial sessions, presbyteries, synods, and general assembly which were erected in Scotland. Presbyterial government can accommodate itself to any extent of country; and its genius, and the exercise of its powers are not incompatible with any reasonable form of civil government, monarchical or republican.

Melville, it is allowed, was "learned," but then it was "chiefly in the tongues." Of the truth of this qualifying clause, the reader shall be left to judge from the evidence which has been already laid before him. With respect to the disparaging style in which skill in languages is here mentioned, it might be sufficient to remark, that the archbishop, though a man of talents, was not a great scholar, and it is very natural for us to depreciate what we do not possess or understand *. But the truth is, that, in speaking after this manner, he only imi-

* Calderwood mentions that Spotswood was ignorant of Greek, and says, it was suspected (probably without good reason) that he had got a certain physician to translate his book into Latin. "Dedicavit Principi Carolo Libellum istum de rebus Ecclesiæ Scoticanæ Latinum, et Græcis quasi stellis distinctum, quem omnes scimus Græcè nescire, Latinè vix scire, nedum posse tam Latinè scribere. Sed non est mirum, mentitis (Medici cujusdam ut audio) pennis niti mendaciorum consarcinatorem." Prefat. Epist. Philadelph. Vind.

tated the language of his predecessors, Montgomery and Adamson *. I mention this chiefly because it affords a curious illustration of the fact, that adventitious recommendations of this kind may be possessed by different parties at different periods. Superior skill in ancient languages, upon which the members of the Church of England in the present day plume themselves, and which I have no desire to deny them, was in the sixteenth century so unquestionably due to presbyterians in Scotland, that their opponents thought it necessary to depreciate it as a minor acquisition, and as calculated to do more hurt than good.

The charge that Melville "insinuated himself into the favour of diverse preachers," is absurd and even ridiculous. His talents and character were such as to secure him easy access to the company and favour of any preacher in Scotland, and the most learned men in the country were proud of his friendship. He communicated his sentiments respecting episcopacy and church-government, in the most un-

* One of the articles of the libel raised in 1581 against Montgomery, archbishop of Glasgow, was, "that, so farre as he could, he travellit to bring the original languages, Greik and Hebrew, into contempt; abusing thereunto the words of the apostle 1 Cor. 14. and tauntingly asking, *In what schoole were Peter and Paul prauluat?*" Buik of the Universall Kirk, f. 114, b. The following is one of the assertions collected from the lectures which archbishop Adamson delivered at St Andrews: "Græcæ, Hebraicæ et Chaldaicæ et ceterarum ejusmodi doctarum et sanctarum linguarum cognitio, non solum otiosa et invtilis, sed etiam pernitiosa et exitialis est Reip. et ecclesiæ Dei." Floretum Archiepiscopale, MS. in Advocates Library, M. 6, 9. No. 47.

reserved manner, to Adamson and Cunninghame, who afterwards became bishops. It is true, that he lived on terms of the greatest intimacy with Lawson, Dury, and Balcanquhall, the ministers of Edinburgh, and there is no reason to doubt that he had confidential conversations with them on those measures which, at that time, engaged universal attention. It may even be true, that he was previously acquainted with Dury's intention to object against the episcopal office; for what is more customary than for a person to consult with his friends before he submits a motion on any important subject to a court? But that Melville conducted the business in an insidious or dishonourable way, by pushing forward another to do what he was afraid to do himself, and then affecting ignorance of the design, or that John Dury would have consented to become a tool in any such disgraceful management, no one who is acquainted with the characters and tempers of the two men will ever for a moment believe*.

* Dury was at first an exhorter in Leith. Though not learned, he possessed great spirit and piety, and had distinguished himself by his zeal and courage during the civil war. "About the same tyme (1571) cam to St Andrews, to visite Mr Knox, Mr Jhone Durie, fellow minister at Leith with Mr David Lindsay, who was then for stoutnes and zeal in the guid cause mickle renowned & talked off. For the gown was na sooner of, and the Byble out of hands fra the kirk, when on ged the corslet, and fangit was the hacbet, and to the fields." Melville's Diary, p. 28. Comp. Bannatyne's Journal, pp. 359, 360.

As Dury commenced the attack on episcopacy, Spotswood was eager to represent him as retracting his sentiments on this subject in his latter days. History, p. 458. But the archbishop's story

Such arts were reserved to be employed in the advancement of a different cause, and by a very different set of men.

There is no evidence that Melville conducted himself in a violent and overbearing manner in the prosecution of this business. He had no means of effecting an alteration on the government of the church but argument and persuasion; and had he pushed matters with the intemperance which some have ascribed to him, he must have defeated his own designs, and raised insurmountable difficulties in the way of their accomplishment. No dissention was produced in the church. There was a general and harmonious concurrence of sentiment in favour of the measures which were adopted; and, aware of this, the bishops themselves, who were present in the Assembly, made no formal or public opposition *. During the earlier and most important part of the proceedings, the reins of civil government were in the hands of one who could hold them with sufficient firmness, and who possessed the address to

is contradicted by Dury's son-in-law, who declares that he retained his sentiments concerning episcopacy unaltered to the last. Melville's Diary, p. 345.

* Spotswood acknowledges this fact, and mentions it with much surprize and disapprobation. "What respect soever it was that made them keep so quiet, whether, as I have heard, that they expected those motions should have been dashed by the Regent, or otherwise that they affected the praise of humility, it was no wisdom in them to have given way to such novelties, & have suffered the lawfulness of their vocation to be thus drawn in question." Hist. p. 276.

avail himself of any act of imprudence or violence on the part of the ecclesiastical courts, as a pretext for putting a stop to those measures to which he was known to be decidedly averse. But no occasion of this kind was offered. Every thing was conducted with firmness, indeed, and perseverance, but at the same time, with a temper, deliberation, and unanimity rarely exhibited by a popular assembly, and which reflect the highest honour on its members.

Nor was this harmony purchased at the expence of the freedom which belongs to a popular and deliberative assembly. There was at that period no party-management—nothing similar to the practice afterwards introduced, when a cabal or set of leaders settled every thing in private, and having previously decided on their measures, and calculated their strength, granted to the court the semblance of liberty by the formality of a vote and a mock debate *.

* The appointment of assessors or assistants to the moderator, has been urged in opposition to the statement given in the text. That practice was introduced in the following way. In April 1577, Alexander Arbuthnot, Principal of the University of Aberdeen, was chosen moderator. It was the moderator's business to fix the order in which the causes should come before the court. But as Arbuthnot had not been present at the preceding Assembly, and consequently was unacquainted with the business which remained undecided, he requested that certain members should be appointed to assist him. This was complied with, and the advantages of the appointment in expediting business led to its repetition at subsequent meetings. Some members were jealous of its tendency, and objected against the precedent, and there is no doubt that it was afterwards abused in prejudice of the liberties of the Assembly. (Cald. MS. vol. ii. pp. 508, 616. Petrie, P. iii. p. 391.) The writer of Arbuthnot's Life in the

One who was present at most if not all the Assemblies occupied in framing the book of discipline, gives the following account of their manner of proceeding. "It was a most pleasand and comfortable thing to be present at these assemblies, there was sic frequencie and reverence, with holines in zeall. Maters war gravlie and cleirlie proponit; overtures maid be the wysest, douttes reassonit and discussit be the learnedest and maist quik; and, finallie, all with a * voice concluding upon maters resolvit and cleirit, and referring thingis intritit and uncleired to farder advysment. Namelie †, that is to be noted, that, in all these assemblies anent the policie, ther was not sic a thing as a carieing away of anie poinct with a number of vottes, an or ma, as by a preoccupied purpose or led course; bot maters indifferentlie proponit, and, efter beging light of God and sersing the scriptures, by conference and reasoning discussit, with large and sufficient tyme takin and diligentlie employit for that effect, all, with a * voice, in an consent and unitie of mynd, determines and concludes ‡."

Some authors are of opinion, that there was no difference of sentiment among the ministers on the head of episcopacy, and that the reasoning between

Biographia Britannica, absurdly says: "This committee had the name of the *Congregation*, and in a short time all matters of importance came to be treated there, and the Assembly had little to do but to approve their resolutions." (Biogr. Brit. vol i. p. 236. dit. 2.)

* one. † Particularly.

‡ Melville's Diary, pp. 59, 60. Comp. Row, Hist. p. 22.

certain members of Assembly, when the question was first agitated, was merely a disputation, according to the manner of the schools, with the view of throwing greater light on the subject. This opinion is, I think, erroneous. There were none in Scotland at that time, so far as I have been able to learn, who regarded the episcopal office as of divine institution; but I have no doubt, that there were ministers, besides the bishops, who did not esteem it to be positively unlawful or necessarily injurious to the interests of the church, and who thought that it ought to be retained, or at least tolerated, in the state in which affairs were in Scotland at that period. It is reasonable to suppose that these were the sentiments of Row, Lindsay, and George Hay, who were nominated by the assembly to reason in defence of episcopacy in the above mentioned debate. That they were Row's sentiments we know from the testimony of his son, who informs us that his father thought episcopacy lawful, but was constrained, along with those who reasoned on the same side with him, to yield to the force of the arguments brought forward by their opponents, and from that time took a decided part in removing bishops and establishing the presbyterian polity*. Among those who held the lawfulness of episcopacy Archbishop Spotswood also includes the names of his father, Erskine of Dun, John Winram, Alexander Arbuthnot, Robert Pont, Thomas Smeton, and An

* Row of Carnock, Historie of the Kirk, p. 289. Comp. Melville's Diary, p. 64.

drew Polwart *. Smeton, Polwart, and Pont, afterwards distinguished themselves by their opposition to bishops †. Arbuthnot and Melville were closely united in their views and public conduct ‡. And if the others were at first friendly to episcopacy they must have changed their views, as they co-operated in the establishment of presbytery, and as there was not a single contradictory or dissenting voice at the abolition of episcopacy §.

It is agreed, on all hands, that this change of sentiment was brought about chiefly by the influence of Melville. That, in exerting this influence, he never overstepped the bounds of moderation, and that, in the fervour of his zeal for what he considered as the cause of God and truth, he never infringed the rights, nor unnecessarily wounded the feelings, of good men who might conscientiously differ from him, I am far from wishing to assert. But there is one

* De Regimine Ecclesiæ Scoticanæ, p. 42.

† Melville, in a letter "Johanni Rowio Ecclesiastæ perthensi," dated "15. Cal. Feb. 1578," says "Smetonius acerrimus bonæ causæ propugnator." (MS. Advocates Library, M. 6, 9.) Smeton and Polwart protested against the election of Montgomery as bishop of Glasgow. (Records of Privy Council, April 12. 1582.) Erskine, Lindsay and Pont presented to the Privy Council the remonstrance of the General Assembly against the suspension of Montgomery's excommunication. (Buik of Univ. Kirk, f. 126, b.)

‡ Letter of Melville to Arbuthnot, Sept. 4. 1579. MS. in Advocates Library, M. 6. 9.

§ The reason which Spotswood gives for their consent is not much to their honour; "Tandem, ne frustra contraniti viderentur, in imperitæ multitudinis sententiam concesserint." De Regimine Eccles. Scot. p. 45.

instance, in which I am satisfied that this charge has been brought against him in a very wanton and unjustifiable manner. I refer to the case of James Boyd, archbishop of Glasgow. Spotswood says that Boyd was so much grieved with the proceedings of the Assembly in urging him to remove the corruptions of the episcopal office, and with certain injuries which he received from one of his own relations, that he "contracted a melancholy, whereof he died not long after at Glasgow." He adds, "Nothing did more grieve him than the ingratitude of Mr Andrew Melvil and his uncourteous forms. He had brought the man to Glasgow, placed him Principal in the Colledge, bestowed otherwise liberally upon him, and was paid for this his kindness with most disgraceful contempt. In private and at the Bishops table (to which he was ever welcome) no man did use him with greater respect, giving him his Titles of dignity and honour; but in the publick meetings where he owed him greatest reverence, he would call him by his proper name, and use him most uncivilly. The commission of the Assembly he exercised with all rigour, and by threatening the Bishop with the censures of the Church, induced him to set his hand to certain Articles, which, as he professed in his sickness, did sore vex his mind; yet being comforted by Mr Andrew Polwart, Subdean of Glasgow, he departed this life in great quietness*." Some of these charges are ridiculous and childish, and the rest are false and calumnious. The whole proce-

* Spotswood's Hist. p. 303.

dure of the Assembly in this case, as detailed in the public records, is marked by tenderness to Boyd, and regard to the delicate circumstances in which he was placed with his relations. It is false that the commission to procure his subscription was entrusted to Melville, or to a committee of which he was one. David Weemes, minister of Glasgow, was the only individual employed in this business *. Two years elapsed from this transaction till the death of the bishop †. The story of his being grieved on his death-bed at his renunciation of episcopacy is contradicted by what is immediately added; for Polwart was a decided anti-episcopalian ‡. The allusion to Melville's partaking of the archbishop's hospitality is utterly unworthy of a reply. What is said as to the episcopal titles is absurd as well as puerile. There was an act of Assembly directing that the bishops should be addressed by the same titles as other ministers. In obedience to this act, and in common with all his brethren, Melville observed this rule in the public meetings of the church; but he did not think that the Assembly intended to interfere with the ordinary civilities of life, and accordingly made no scruple of giving the bishop his

* Cald. MS. vol. ii. p. 586.

† His subscription, "where he willingly agreed to the act of the Assembly made at Stirling, 1578," was dated "the 8th day of June 1579." Cald. ut supra. And he died in June 1581. Keith's Scottish Bishops, p. 155. During the interval he was employed by the Assembly as Commissioner of Carrict, and appointed on the committee to present articles to the King. Cald. ii. 587, 642.

‡ See before, p. 185.

usual titles in private intercourse. And this compliance with the rules of *courtesy* must be produced and published as a proof of his "*uncourteous* forms," and bring the blood of a bishop on his head, too! He came to Glasgow at the urgent solicitation of the archbishop, when he had the offer of a preferable and more lucrative situation. The active part which Boyd took in bringing him there was with the view, not of conferring a favour on an individual, but of benefiting a literary institution; and if he was actuated by regard to the public good, as I have no doubt he was, he must have considered his exertions and benefactions as amply rewarded by the flourishing condition into which Melville brought that decayed university, and must have derived far higher gratification from this than from having his ears tickled with vain-glorious and high-sounding titles, for which he never shewed that doting fondness which his successor must have felt when he advanced so heavy a charge on such weak and miserable grounds. It is scarcely necessary to add, that the whole accusation of disrespect and ingratitude is refuted by the most unexceptionable testimony, that of the bishop's own son, the learned and excellent Robert Boyd of Trochrig, who, in his family-memoirs, mentions the inviolable friendship that subsisted between his father and Melville, and records with filial satisfaction and pride the high commendations which he heard the latter bestow on the former *.

* After mentioning the friendship between his father and John

There are too good grounds for retorting on Spotswood the charges which he has so groundlessly aimed at another. He received his education at the University of Glasgow, while Melville was principal there, and James Melville was his teacher *. Yet, in his history, he has embraced every opportunity of tarnishing the reputation of the former, and has injured the character of the latter by retailing, as true, a slander of the most improbable kind, and which, if he did not know, he might easily have ascertained to be false †.

From the frequent occasion that we shall have in the sequel to speak of Patrick Adamson, it is necessary to give a short account of his conduct at

Davidson, minister of Prestonpans, he proceeds to speak of Melville: "Die quadam hunc ipsum in finem convenissem, ut ejus de Patre meo sententiam percontarer, quem is inter omnes tum viventes optime perspectum habebat, quippe a quo olim ipse, Geneva rediens, obviis ulnis exceptus fuerat, et Academiæ Glasguensis prefectura meritissime donatus, in quo per annos aliquot substitit, *cum Patre meo sanctissimam colens amicitiam*, post cujus demum e vivis excessum in Academiam Andreanam translatus est: Respondit, ex voto meo, et rei ipsius veritate, pectus illud candidissimum, illius integritate virtutique luculentum perhibens testimonium lubentissime." Roberti Bodii a Trochoregia Philotheca: Wodrow's Life of Archbishop Boyd, p. 3, 4. MSS. vol. iv. Bibl. Coll. Glas. The account which James Melville has given of the archbishop, and of his uncle's uninterrupted intimacy with him, exactly accords with the above. Diary, p. 39.

* It appears from his graduation that he attended the University of Glasgow at the period referred to; and Melville, in speaking of him in his letters to his nephew, mentions him by the designation "*your* scholar." Melvini Epistolæ, p. 29.

† Hist. p. 403.

this period. He was minister of Paisley when the questions respecting the government of the church began to be publicly agitated, and professed a hearty concurrence with the views of Melville, whose society he courted. The latter, however, always suspected his sincerity, or at least his steadiness, and remarked to his confidential friends that Adamson, as well as Cuninghame,* was too courtly to remain attached to the cause†. In the course of the year 1575, he left his charge at Paisley, and became chaplain to the Regent; in the expectation, and indeed with the assurance, that he would obtain preferment as soon as a fit opportunity presented itself‡. The see of St Andrews was at that time vacant, but it was necessary to proceed with caution in filling it, as the church had declared against the corruptions of the episcopal function. In October 1576, the General Assembly was informed that Adamson was presented to that bishopric, upon which occasion he came forward and declared that he did not intend to prosecute his presentation§. But before the

* See above, p. 133. † Melville's Diary, p. 43, 45.

‡ "Ane letter maid to maister Patrick Adamsone minister of goddis word in ye lord Regentis house of ane gift of an zeirlie pensioun of ye sowme of thre hundreth pundis money of yis realme a furtt of ye superplus of benefices and ye thriddis thairof not assignit to the sustentatioun of vtheris ministeris during all the dayis of his lyfe, at leist ay and quhill he be provydit sufficientlie of benefice pensioun fruth of benefice, or vtherwayis to the yeirlie rait and availl of ye said pensioun and sowme thairoff &c At Dalkeith Jun. 15, 1575." (Register of Privie Seal, vol. 43. fol. 7.)

§ Buik of the Univ. Kirk, p. 66. Cald. MS. vol. ii. p. 494.

next meeting of Assembly, he had procured his election, and was admitted archbishop of St Andrews and primate of all Scotland. The craft with which he accomplished his ambitious views excited the raillery of the courtiers, and the indignation of the ministers of the church. He had a favourite phrase which he often used in his sermons, *The prophet would mean here.* Montgomery, the poet, who resided at court, had observed this, and hearing of Adamson's being made primate, exclaimed among his companions, "For as often as I have been told what the prophet would mean, I never knew what he really meant till now *." After much shifting and tergiversation, which we cannot here

" Nevertheless, (says James Melville) er the nixt assemblie he was seisit hard hard and fast on the bischoprik, wharby all gossoprie ged upe betwin him and my uncle Mr Andro." Diary, p. 46.—Spotswood says, that Adamson answered "that he was discharged by the Regent to accept the office otherwise than was appointed by mutual consent of the Church and Estate." (Hist. p. 277.) But he appears to have confounded the answers returned at two different times by Adamson. (Buik of Universal Kirk, p. 66. comp. p. 68.) In the MS. copy of Spotswood's History, immediately after the above quotation, it is added,—"in the bishoprick, wherein if it should please the king and Estates to make any reformation, he should consent with the first thereunto." (Wodrow's Life of archbishop Adamson, p. 15. MSS. Bibl. Coll. Glas. vol. iv.) This also refers to the subsequent dealings of the church with Adamson; as to which James Melville says: "As he was wounderfull craftie he offerit to lay down all at the feit of the brethering, and be ordourit at the pleasure of the assemblie, whowsone the sam was throuche and at a point with the mater of the policie, and sa w^t^ fear promises drifted and pat off till he gat his tyme." Diary, p. 47.

* Melville's Diary, p. 46.

relate, Adamson submitted to the determinations of the General Assembly, and subscribed to all the leading articles in the book of discipline concerning episcopacy and ecclesiastical government; but it was too apparent from the whole of his conduct that his professions were illusory and hypocritical *. When Adamson was made archbishop of St Andrews, Cunninghame became chaplain to the Regent, and was soon after advanced to the bishopric of Aberdeen †.

The same arts of corruption by which the court detached Adamson and Cunninghame from the cause of presbytery, were tried on Melville. We have already seen the advances made and the prospects held out to him on the part of the Regent, at his arrival in Scotland ‡. Upon the death of Douglas, the archbishopric of St Andrews was intended for him, and it was not until all hopes of his complying with the court-measures had failed, that it was bestowed on Adamson §. He was next offered the rich benefice of Govan, on the condition of his dropping all opposition to the bishops. This offer he rejected, but as the parish lay in the vicinity of Glasgow and could be served by one of the professors, he used all

* Buik of the Univ. Kirk, pp. 69, 90, 100. Cald. MS. vol. ii. pp. 510, 565, 585, 636. Melville's Diary, p. 49. A great part of the procedure of the Assembly respecting the bishops is awanting in the records, in consequence of the leaves having been torn out by Arran and Adamson during their administration. Cald. ii. 540, 566, 630, 636.

† Melville's Diary, p. 46.

‡ See above, p. 58.

§ Melville's Diary, p. 38.

his influence to have its rents bestowed on the University. The Regent kept the living in his own hands for two years, giving out that the Principal, "by his new opinions and over-sea dreams," defrauded the College of this valuable addition to its slender revenue. Nor were there wanting individuals, of whom his colleague Blackburn was one, who murmured against his conduct on this account, and wounded his feelings by their injurious and illiberal reflections. But as his independence of mind had prompted him to reject personal favours, so his firmness and conscious integrity enabled him to disregard such unmerited imputations, and he continued steadily to pursue what he conceived to be the line of his duty *.

In October 1577, the Regent sent a message to the General Assembly, informing them that the protestants of Germany intended to hold a General Council at Magdeburgh for establishing the Augsburg Confession, at which they wished deputies from the different protestant countries to be present; desiring the Assembly to name such individuals as they judged most proper for that employment; and promising that he would provide for the expences of their journey. The Assembly nominated eight of their number, and left it to the Regent to select from them such as he thought most fit for the embassy. He accordingly fixed on Melville, Ar-

* Melville's Diary, p. 43—4.

buthnot, and George Hay *. But whether he grudged the pecuniary charges, or merely wished to pay a compliment to the church and the individuals selected, it is certain that Morton, although urged by the Assembly, took no farther step in the affair †.

When he saw that he could not accomplish his purpose by mercenary enticements, the Regent next attempted to overawe Melville by his authority, and to work on his fears by threatening to proceed against him as a disturber of the public peace. While the Assembly were taking some measures that were disagreeable to him, he one day sent for Melville to his chamber. After discoursing for some time on the importance of preserving the peace of the church and kingdom, he began to complain that this was in danger of being disturbed by certain persons who sought to introduce their private conceits, and foreign laws, on points of ecclesiastical government. Melville explained by telling his Grace, that he and his brethren took the Scriptures, and not their own fancies or the model of any foreign church, for the rule and standard of the discipline which they defended. Morton said that the General Assembly was a convocation of the King's lieges, and that it was treasonable for them to meet

* The other individuals named by the Assembly, and who on this account may be be considered as the most able among the ministers, were Adamson, Cunninghame, Robert Pont, William Christison, and David Lindsay.

† Buik of the Univ. Kirk, p. 72. Melville's Diary, p. 46.

without his allowance. To this Melville answered, that, upon such a supposition, Christ and his apostles must have been guilty of treason, for they convocated hundreds and thousands, and taught and governed them, without asking the permission of magistrates; and yet they were obedient subjects, and commanded the people to give what was due unto Cesar. Having appealed in proof of this to the *Acts of the Apostles*, the Regent replied scornfully, "Read ye ever of such an *Act* as we did at St Johnston?" referring to the armed resistance which the Lords of the Congregation made to the Queen Regent at Perth in the beginning of the Reformation. "My Lord," answered Melville, "if ye be ashamed of that act, Christ will be ashamed of you." He added, that in a great emergency the conduct of men was not to be rigidly scanned by common rules, and actions which in ordinary cases would be highly censurable may be excused and even approved; as our Saviour did not condemn but virtually justified those, who, from eagerness to obtain the cure of a palsied invalid, broke open the roof of a house to admit him without waiting the permission of the owner. At that time the kingdom of heaven suffered violence, and all men pressed into it, without asking the leave of prince or emperor. The Regent exclaimed in a tone of menacing irritation, which few who were acquainted with his temper could hear without apprehension: "There will never be quietness in this country till half-a-dozen of you be hanged or banished the

country."—"Tush, Sir; (replied Melville) threaten your courtiers after that manner. It is the same to me whether I rot in the air or in the ground. The earth is the Lord's. *Patria est ubicunque est bene.* I have been ready to give my life where it would not have been half so well wared *, at the pleasure of my God. I have lived out of your country ten years as well as in it. Let God be glorified: it will not be in your power to hang or exile his truth †."

The wisest of men are apt to become intoxicated with power. Morton possessed great political sagacity; yet he overlooked the critical situation in which he stood as entrusted with delegated and temporary authority. The nobles envied his greatness, and were irritated at the severe impartiality with which he often repressed their turbulence; the commons felt oppressed by the monopolies in trade which he had granted in order to avoid the necessity of having recourse to direct taxation; the attachment of the ministers of the church to his administration was cooled by his austere and supercilious treatment of them; and he had neglected to secure the fidelity of those who were placed about the person of the young King. In these circum-

* expended, or bestowed.

† Melville's Diary, p. 52. Referring to Morton's threats against him, his nephew says: "Manie siclyk hes he hard, and far ma reported in mair ferfull form, bot for all never jarged a jot ather from the substance of the cause, or forme of proceiding tharin." ib.

stances a party of discontented nobles having gained access to the prince, persuaded him, although only in the twelfth year of his age, to assume the government; and so strongly did public opinion incline to the change, that Morton judged it prudent to give way to it, and formally resigned the regency *. It was not long till the new counsellors became unpopular, and Morton, taking advantage of this sudden turn of public feeling, returned to court, and, without the invidious title of regent, regained his former influence. But, after what had happened, it could not be stable or permanent, and his adversaries, by insinuating themselves into the royal favour, undermined his authority and precipitated his fall.

These revolutions in the political administration of the kingdom were so far favourable to the church. Had Morton's authority remained undisturbed, or had the adverse faction not felt the necessity of strengthening themselves against him, it is not improbable that force would have been employed to stop those ecclesiastical proceedings to which both parties were equally averse. The King, by the advice of his counsellors, returned a very gracious answer to the General Assembly, when they pre-

* He resigned the regency on the 6th of March 157$\frac{7}{8}$; "*he being wearie of ye burding thairof*, and be his earnest cair and travell takin thairin. As also be ressoun of his great age, being now past threscoir ane zeiris. And y^r^with being in his persoun seiklie and vnhabill," &c. (Record of Privy Seal, vol. 45. fol. 56.) In Sept. 11. 1578, he obtained a licence to seek "in foreign countries" a remedy for his "infirmities and diseases." (Ibid. fol. 79.)

sented the book of discipline to him upon his assumption of the government; and at a conference held at Edinburgh between commissioners from the privy council and the church, all the heads of the book were agreed to with the exception of four, which were subsequently explained by the Assembly *. But, at the ensuing meeting of Parliament, its ratification was evaded, and a committee appointed to re-examine it, by whose proceedings the whole subject was thrown loose, and points formerly conceded were again brought into debate †. After the reconciliation of the two political parties, which the ministers of the church were active in bringing about ‡, the General Assembly received a letter from the King couched in language very different from the reply which he had at first returned to their deputies §.

In the midst of these changes, the country suffered a severe loss by the death of the Chancellor Glammis, who was casually slain in one of those affrays which were then so frequent among the re-

* Buik of the Univ. Kirk, p. 76, 77. Melville's Diary, p. 49. The minutes of the conference which was held at Edinburgh, June 23, 1578, were torn out of the register of the General Assembly. Cald. MS. vol. ii. pp. 539—541.

† Cald. MS. vol. ii. pp. 545—6. The whole proceedings of this committee, which met at Stirling, Dec. 22—29, 1578, are inserted Cald. ut sup. pp. 569—577. In Spotswood's History, (pp. 289—301.) their opinion of the several propositions in the Book of Discipline is printed on the margin, but inaccurately in several instances.

‡ Cald. ii. 549. § Ibid. p. 579. Spotsw. 308.

tainers of the nobility. He was a nobleman of great wisdom and integrity, a patron of learning, and a sincere friend to the reformed church *. With the view of bringing the disputes on church government to an amicable termination, he had carried on an epistolary correspondence with Beza, who composed a short treatise in answer to the queries which his lordship proposed to him on that subject. These queries form a very important document. They clearly shew that the opposers of the presbyterian polity did not merely object to some of the distinguishing features and subordinate parts of the system, but that they were in reality averse to the whole discipline and jurisdiction of the church, and aimed at subjecting the freedom of her assemblies, and the validity of her sentences, to the arbitrary will and determination of the court. Beza proved himself a true friend to the church of Scotland on this occasion. His judgment on all the questions submitted to him was decidedly in favour of the principles laid down in the book of discipline; and as his treatise was printed and soon after translated into English, the authority of his name and the force of his arguments had great influence on the public mind †.

* The following epitaph was composed by Melville on the Chancellor, whose name was *Lyon*:

Tu, Leo magne, jaces inglorius: ergo manebunt
Qualia fata canes? qualia fata sues?
Melville's Diary, p. 47.

† See Note X.

"During these contentions in the state, (says Spotswood) Mr Andrew Melvil held the church busied with the matter of policy." The letters which he wrote about this time certainly shew that he was neither idle nor indifferent about this business. In a letter addressed to John Row he expresses great anxiety to learn the particulars of the conference, or "archiepiscopal skirmishing," as he calls it, at Stirling*. In another letter, addressed to Alexander Arbuthnot, he adverts, in his lively manner, to the continual bustle in which he and his brethren had been kept by attending to this affair. "What shall I say on the subject of the ecclesiastical discipline, in which we have laboured so sedulously, but with so little success? Shall I tell you what we have done during this and the preceding year, when called sometimes to Stirling and sometimes to Edinburgh, now by letters from the king and then by letters from the council, at one time by an order from the estates and at another by appointment of the assemblies of the church? Or shall I write of our doings in August last, during the whole of October, and in the current month†?" To his friend Beza‡ he gives a more precise account of the sentiments of their opponents, and the true causes which hindered the establishment of the discipline. "Those who have grown

* 15 Cal. Feb. 1578. MS. Advocates Library, M. 6. 9.

† 4 Sep. 1579. MS. ut supra.

‡ Melville received letters from Beza about this time, though I have not met with any of them. Diary, p. 42.

rich by sacrilege and loaded themselves with the spoils of Christ, deny that ecclesiastical discipline is to be derived from the word of God and to be executed by the interpreters of Scripture. They wish to have it moulded entirely according to the dictates of human reason, and transferred to the cognizance of the civil magistrate. They insist that the work of framing an ecclesiastical polity shall be committed to wrangling lawyers, and to persons that are illiterate, or at least unskilful in divine things. And merely because they belong to the church, they maintain that such persons have authority and power, not only to agree to what has been rightly done by presbyteries constituted according to the word of God, but also to sit themselves as judges in sacred causes, and to rescind at their pleasure the sentences and constitutions of the doctors and pastors." In another letter to the same individual, he says: "For five years we have now maintained a warfare against pseudo-episcopacy, and have not ceased to urge the adoption of a strict discipline. We have presented to his Majesty and the three estates of the kingdom at different times, and recently at the parliament which is now sitting, a form of discipline to be enacted and confirmed by public authority. The king is favourably inclined to us: almost all the nobility are averse. They complain that if pseudo-episcopacy be abolished the state of the kingdom will be overturned; if presbyteries be established the royal authority will be diminished; if the ecclesiastical goods are restored to their legiti-

mate use, the royal treasury will be exhausted. They plead that bishops, with abbots and priors, form the third estate in parliament, that all jurisdiction, ecclesiastical as well as civil, pertains solely to the king and his council, and that all the ecclesiastical property should go into the exchequer. In many this way of speaking and thinking may be imputed to ignorance; in more to a flagitious life and bad morals; in almost all to a desire of seizing such of the church property as yet remains, and the dread of losing what they have already got into their possession. They also insist that the sentence of excommunication shall not be held valid until it has been approved by the king's council after taking cognizance of the cause. For, being conscious of their own vices, they are afraid of the sentence of the presbytery, not so much from the awe in which they stand of the divine judgment, as from terror of the civil penalties, which, according to the laws and custom of our country, accompany the sentence of excommunication. In fine, while they judge according to the dictates of the carnal mind instead of the revealed will of God, they desire to have every thing done by the authority of a single bishop and perpetual overseer of the churches, rather than by the common sentence of presbyters possessing equal authority. May God shew mercy to his church, and remove these evils *."

* A. M. Th. Bezæ, Cal. Octob. 1578; and Id. Novemb. 1579. MS. ut supra.

From the manner in which Melville mentions the civil penalties that accompanied excommunication, it is evident that he did not look upon them as forming any part of the ecclesiastical discipline, or even as a necessary appendage to it. The laws enacting them were allowed to remain in force at the time of the Reformation, and they afforded the most plausible pretext for the control which the court claimed over the sentences of the church. It was, however, only a pretext; for the government suspended the execution of them when they pleased, and the legislature had it in their power at any time to abrogate them entirely. Some of the ministers would have been pleased with their abrogation*. Such of them as wished for their continuance were chiefly influenced by two reasons; first, the government was extremely remiss and partial in proceeding against certain vices and crimes which merited civil punishment, and of which the church-courts took regular cognizance as scandals; and, secondly, they reckoned them necessary as a protection against the attempts of the papists, whom the court were frequently disposed to favour. There can be no doubt that they were one principal means of saving the country from the popish conspiracies about the time of the Spanish Armada; but still they were radically wrong, capable of being made an engine of the grossest persecution, and consequently were wisely and happily abolished at a subsequent period.

* Calderwood, Altare Damasc. pp. 312—13. Edit 2.

Amidst their occupations, the General Assembly found leisure to attend to the interests of learning. In March 1575, they enacted that no individual who was not acquainted with the Latin language, should afterwards be admitted to the ministry, unless he was distinguished by a more than ordinary degree of natural gifts and of piety. And at the following meeting they petitioned the Regent to encourage the seminaries of education, and to make provision for such young men of talents as the church should think proper to send to foreign universities to complete their education. Being informed, most probably by Melville, that a learned printer, who had been obliged to leave France for the sake of religion, was willing to settle in Scotland, and promised to procure a regular supply of all books printed in France and Germany, they warmly recommended it to the Regent to grant him the pension which he demanded. It is probable that Andreas Wechelius was the individual referred to, and there can be no doubt that his establishment in the country would have been highly favourable to its literature. But there is reason to think that the parsimony of Morton defeated the success of this proposal. Some years after we find them applying to the king, to procure Vaultrollier, another printer, who accordingly came and remained for a short time in the country. It was also under the patronage and special direction of the General Assembly that the first edition of the

Bible printed in Scotland was undertaken, and made its appearance in the year 1579 *.

Another important object which engaged the Assembly's attention at this time was the reformation and new-modelling of the universities. Melville had contemplated this measure ever since his settlement at Glasgow. In the year 1575, he had a meeting with Arbuthnot, when they agreed on a new constitution for the colleges of Glasgow and Aberdeen †. We have already noticed its establishment in the former of these seminaries. In the latter it met with much opposition. The alterations made on the University of St Andrews originated in consultations between Melville and Smeton. Among other changes they planned the conversion of one of the colleges into a seminary of divinity, in which a complete course of theological education should be given. This was intended as an antidote to the seminaries which the Jesuits had lately erected on the continent, and to which they allured the youth of different countries ‡. Melville exerted all his influence with the General Assembly and the Court to accomplish this favourite design;

* See Note Y.

† "Efter the Assemblie we past to Angus in companie wt Mr Alexr. Arbuthnot, a man of singular gifts of lerning, wisdome, godliness and sweitnes of nature, then principall of the college of Aberdin, whom withe Mr Andro communicat anent ye ordor of his college in doctrine and discipline; and aggreit as yrefter was sett down in the new reformation of ye said College of Glasgow and Aberdein." Melville's Diary, p. 43.

‡ Ibid. p. 58.

and he had the satisfaction to see the new constitution of the University of St Andrews, of which we shall give an account in the following chapter, ratified by parliament.

There was but one opinion as to the person who was best qualified for being placed at the head of the new theological college; and, accordingly, it was resolved that Melville should be translated to it, and that Smeton should be placed in his room as principal of the College of Glasgow. In October 1580 the King directed a letter to the General Assembly, informing them that this was his intention, and requesting their concurrence. Considerable opposition was made to this proposal. The translation of Melville was warmly opposed by the University of Glasgow. He was himself averse to leave a seminary which had flourished so greatly under his care, and to disappoint and grieve individuals who had treated him with the utmost kindness, and who were willing to do every thing in their power to make his situation easy and comfortable. Nor could he be altogether regardless of the difficulties which he might expect to meet with at St Andrews *. Smeton's appointment to be his successor was also opposed by several members, who scrupled at the idea of taking a minister from a congregation, and appointing him to exercise the doctoral instead of the pastoral office. The Assembly resolved that they might concur with his

* Melvini Epistolæ, p. 70

Majesty in translating teachers of divinity from one university to another. At a subsequent sederunt they agreed, that they might lawfully require a pastor, in certain circumstances, to desist from his office, at least for a time, and to apply himself to the teaching of youth. Upon this the Assembly, "for the weal and universal profit of the church of God within this realm," concluded and ordained, that, agreeably to the King's letter, Melville should be translated to the new College of St Andrews, and that Smeton should succeed to his present situation. From this deed, Andrew Hay, as rector of the University of Glasgow, dissented, as he had done at the previous stages of procedure in this affair. His dissent was dictated by regard to the rights of the institution over which he watched, and by attachment to Melville, and did not argue the slightest disrespect to the individual appointed to succeed him *.

Legal measures were immediately taken to secure a compliance with this determination, and Melville prepared, with reluctance, to remove from Glasgow. This he did the more readily as he devolved his charge upon his most intimate friend, of whose learning and sound principles he entertained the highest opinion. Having formally resigned his office †, he left Glasgow, in the end of November

* Buik of Univ. Kirk, pp. 99—101. Cald MS. vol. ii. pp. 637, 640, 643.

† Smeton's appointment to be Principal passed the privy seal on the 3d of January 158⅞. "Ane letter maid Makand mentioun

1580, "with infinite tears on both sides;" those who had at first misliked and opposed him being forward to testify their regret at his departure *.

Melville was at this time deprived of a respected friend, and the church of a valuable pastor, by the death of John Row, the minister of Perth. Row is entitled to notice as one of the revivers of the literature, as well as a reformer of the religion, of his native country. His literary attainments were very considerable for the time at which he received his education; and they were combined with much piety, candour, disinterestedness, and courage in the cause of truth †. He departed this life a few days before the meeting of the General Assembly

that our Soverane Lord vnderstanding that the place of the principall maister within the College of Glasgow now vaikis be the transporting of maister andro Mailuile principall thairof for the tyme to the new college of Sanctandrois and that necessar it is to haif ane Idoneus and qualifiit persoun electit in that place and office that wilbe able to discharge his cure & dewtie thairin in tyme cuming. And his hienes being informit of the literature and qualificatioun within the College of his louit clerk Mr Thomas Smetoun for using of the office of principall maister within the college foirsaid. Thairfor hes nominat and presentit him to the place and office foirsaid with all privileges and dewties pertening thairto. At Halyrudhous Jan 3. 1580." (Register of Privy Seal, vol. 47. fol. 61.)

* Melville's Diary, p. 64.

† Bannatyne's Journal, p. 257. Melville's Diary, p. 64. Spotswood, Hist. 311. Life of John Knox, vol. ii. p. 18.

It appears from the following article in the Inventary of goods belonging to Thomas Bassenden, printer in Edinburgh, that Row was an author: "Ite. ane Mr Johne rowes signes of ye sacramentis, price, xiid." (Commissary Records of Edinburgh.)

which decided on Melville's translation*: and as the town of Perth petitioned to have his room filled by Smeton, this circumstance rendered a number of the members more averse to the settlement of the latter in the university of Glasgow †.

The following chapter is devoted to an account of the University of St Andrews, and the alterations made on it at the time that Melville became one of its professors. To those who regard a history of this literary establishment as a desideratum, the sketch which I shall lay before them may afford some gratification, while those who feel no interest in such inquiries can pass it over entirely.

* He died on the 16th of October 1580. Scott's Hist. of the Reformers, p. 194. And Extracts from the Registers of Perth in his MSS. now in the Advocates Library.

† Buik of the Univ. Kirk, fol. 100, b.

CHAPTER V.

Erection of the University of St Andrews—its constitution—early teachers—erection of St Salvator's College—difference between a college and a university—College of St Leonard—facts relating to it—the Pædagogium—erected into the College of St Mary by Archbishop Beaton—founded anew by Archbishop Hamilton—learned men who were professors in it—state of the university at the establishment of the Reformation—mode of teaching and conferring degrees in the faculty of arts—and of theology—plans for reforming the constitution of the university—by the compilers of the First Book of Discipline—by Buchanan—the plan of reformation ratified by Parliament—sketch of the new mode of teaching—share which Melville had in drawing it up.

The University of St Andrews was the earliest, and continued long to be the most celebrated academical institution in Scotland. For two centuries almost all the eminent men who appeared in the country were connected with it either as pupils or as teachers; and an acquaintance with its constitu-

tion, and the modes of teaching practised in it, will contribute materially to give us accurate views of the progress of our national literature.

At the commencement of the fifteenth century no university existed in Scotland, and the youth who were desirous of obtaining a liberal education were under the necessity of seeking it abroad. The inconveniences attendant on this were aggravated by the dissentions which were excited on the continent by the conflicting claims of the rival popes. To remedy this evil, Henry Wardlaw, bishop of St Andrews, with the consent and approbation of the estates of the kingdom *, took measures for erecting a *General Study* in the chief city of his diocese. The classes were opened in the year 1411 †; and the bishop, with the concurrence of James Bisset, prior of the abbey of St Andrews, and Thomas Stewart, archdeacon of Lothian, immediately granted to the masters and students the privileges belonging to a university, and applied, in the usual way, to the Pope for a confirmation of what he had done. Benedict XIII. whom the Scots at that time acknowledged as sovereign pontiff, issued a bull on the 27th of August 1413, founding the University of St Andrews, and on the same day he signed five other bulls securing its

* —"de consilio, consensu, et communi tractatu trium Statuum personarum regni Scotiæ." Bulla Fundationis Univ. St. Andreæ.

† Fordoni Scotichron. lib. 15. chap. 22. Boethii Hist. Scot. lib. xvi.

rights and privileges *. These were brought to Scotland by Henry Ogilvy †, and were solemnly proclaimed at St Andrews amidst a great assemblage of clergy from all parts of the kingdom ‡. The masters immediately proceeded to exercise the powers with which they were invested, by conferring the degree of bachelor of arts upon a number of individuals who had studied under them during the two preceding years §.

The University of St Andrews was formed on the model of those of Paris and Bologna. All its members or supposts, as they were called, including the students who had attained the degree of bachelor as well as the masters, were divided into nations, according to the places from which they came ‖. The nations were those of Fife, Angus, Lothian, and Albany; which last included all who did not belong to any of the three former districts ¶. These elected annually, at a congregation or general meeting, four procurators, who had a right to act for them in any cause in which their interests were con-

* Papers of University.

† Spotswood calls him *Alexander*.

‡ Fordun, ut supra.

§ There were *thirteen* persons made bachelors in 1513, of whom *seven* were created masters in 1414. (Records of Univ.)

‖ On entering the university, the students were matriculated according to their nations; but they do not appear to have been entitled to a vote in the general meetings until they became bachelors.

¶ A more ancient division was into the nations of Albany, Angus, Lothian, and Britain.

cerned, and four intrants or electors, by whom the rector was chosen. The rector was the chief magistrate, and had authority to judge and pronounce sentence, with the advice and consent of his assessors *, in all causes, civil and criminal, relating to members of the university, with the exception of crimes which inferred the highest punishment †. He had a right to repledge any member of the university who might be called before any other judge, civil or ecclesiastical. And in certain cases those who did not belong to the university might be called before the rector's court, upon the complaint of a master or student. It is natural to suppose that the exercise of these powers would give occasion to a collision of authorities; and, accordingly, a concordat was entered into between the university and the magistrates of the city, by which the limits of their respective jurisdictions were defined and adjusted ‡. The university had the right of purchasing victuals free from custom, within the city and the regality of the abbey §. It

* In general the university elected the assessors, and empowered the Rector to appoint his deputes. The number of assessors was twelve: three from every nation.

† "dummodo ad atrocem injuriam non sit processus." (Concession of Privileges by Bishop Wardlaw.) There is one instance of capital punishment being inflicted by the sentence of the rector of the University of Glasgow. (Statistical Acco. of Scotland, vol. 21. Append.)

‡ Concordia inita, per episcop. Jac. Kennedy, inter supposita universitatis et cives Sti. Andreæ, A. D. 1440.

§ The prior joined with the bishop in the charter of Confirm

was also exempted from paying all other imposts and taxes, even those levied by the estates, with the exception of, what is called, *the great custom*. Its members enjoyed immunity from the duties exacted for confirming testaments; and such of them as were clergymen, and possessed benefices with cure, were liberated by the papal bull from obligation to personal residence as long as they taught in the university *. Besides its civil and criminal jurisdiction, the university possessed ecclesiastical powers, in the exercise of which it sometimes proceeded to excommunication †. It may be mentioned as an evidence of the respect paid to literature, that, in consequence of a dispute which had arisen, it

sion of Privileges.—The abbey of St Andrews had a jurisdiction of its own, and magistrates independent of those of the city. About the time of the Reformation, the Master of Lindsay was "principall baillie of the priorie of Sanct-androis," and Robert Pont was "procurator phiscall of the said priorie." (Summonds—David Monepenny elder of Pitmilly ag^{t} Mr James Wilkie, &c. March 6. 1577.)

* Bulla Concess. Privileg. Univ. S. A.

† In a dispute which the rector and professors of theology in the university had with the masters of St Salvator's College about the power of conferring degrees, the former threatened the latter with ecclesiastical censures. The matter was settled by a provincial council held in 1470, in the way of the College consenting to renounce the right which they had acquired by a papal bull. (Hovei Oratio. MS.) In the reformation of the University of St Andrews in 1579, it is provided, "that in place of the pane of cursing vsit of befoir vpoun offendo^{rs} and inobedientis They be now decernit be decreit of the rector and chief membris of the vniūsitie efter the cognitioun of the caus to be debarrit secludit and remouit out of the vniūsitie And to tyne and foirfalt the priuilegis and liberteis y^{r}of." Act. Parl. Scot. vol. iii. p. 181.

was determined that the Rector of the University should take precedence of the Prior of the Abbey in all public processions *.

For the direction of its literary affairs, the members of the university were divided into faculties, according to the sciences that were taught. At the head of each of these was a dean, who presided at the meetings of the masters of his faculty for regulating the mode of study, for examinations, and the conferring of degrees. The mode of study, and of examination for degrees in the arts or philosophy, appears to have been regulated soon after the erection of the university. James of Haddiston was dean of the faculty of theology in 1432, when similar regulations were made as to theological study and graduation †. It was long before medicine was taught, as a separate science, in our universities, and it does not appear that they were accustomed to confer degrees in law.

The university laboured under no want of teachers at its commencement. Before the papal bulls were executed, Laurence Lindores, as professor of divinity, began to read the fourth book of the Sentences. Richard Corvel, John Litstar, John Scheves, and William Stephani or Stevenson, appeared as lecturers

* Hovei Oratio.

† Ibid. A collection of the ancient statutes of the faculties of philosophy and divinity, reformed from superstition between the years 1560 and 1570, has been preserved.

on canon law. And John Gyll, William Fowlis, and William Crosier, taught the arts or philosophy*.

However limited this course of education was, and however rude and imperfect the mode in which it was conducted, such an institution could not fail to produce effects favourable to the progress of knowledge; and the erection of the University of St Andrews may be regarded as marking the first dawn of learning in Scotland. Attracted by novelty, or animated by that thirst for knowledge which has always characterised Scotsmen, students came to St Andrews from every part of the kingdom. The first professors appear to have had no salaries. The revenues of the university for some time consisted chiefly of small sums received from the students at their admission and graduation; and the greater part of these was applied to the defraying of common expences. The classes were at first taught in such places of the city as were found most convenient. Robert de Montrose gave a house for the students of theology to meet in, which was at a subsequent period converted into the public library. And bishop Kennedy appropriated to the classes of philosophy certain buildings in the neighbourhood, which retained the name of the *pædagogium* until

* This is the account given by Fordun. (Scotichronicon, lib. xv. cap. 22.) Hector Boethius and Laur. Lindores professor of laws, and Richard Corveil doctor of decretals. (Hist. Scot. lib. xvi.) Spotswood, though he refers to Boethius as his authority, gives a different statement; making Scheves, Stephen, and Lister readers in divinity, Lendors in canon law, and Cornwall in civil law. (Hist. p. 57.)

it was erected into a college under the designation of St Mary's *.

James I. who, in recompence of his long captivity, had received a good education in England, patronised the newly erected university after his return to Scotland. Besides confirming its privileges by a royal charter, he assembled those who had distinguished themselves by teaching, and by the progress which they had made in their studies, and after conversing familiarly with them, and applauding their exertions, rewarded them according to their merit with offices in the state or benefices in the church †. But it received a still greater benefit from bishop James Kennedy, who, in 1450, founded the College of St Salvator, to which he gave a new and more improved form in 1458 ‡.

The College of St Salvator consisted of three professors of divinity, called the provost or principal, the licentiate, and the bachelor; four masters of arts, who were also in priest's orders; and six poor scholars or clerks, making in all thirteen persons, according to the number of the apostles of our Saviour, in honour of whom the college was named. The provost was bound to read lessons in theology once a-week, the licentiate thrice a-week, and the bachelor every *readable* day. The first, to preach

* Hovei Oratio.

† Fordun, ut supra. Hovei Orat. Buchanan. Hist. lib. 10. p. 190. edit. Ruddim.

‡ The Charter of Donation by Kennedy Aug. 28. 1450, was confirmed by Pope Nicholas V. The new foundation of 1458 by Pius II.

to the people four times, and the second, six times a-year. From the four masters of arts, two at least were to be annually chosen as regents, the one to teach logic, and the other physics and metaphysics, according to the method of the schools and the statutes of the university. The college was liberally endowed by the founder for the support of the masters and scholars; besides the altarages subsequently founded by other individuals *. The strictest rules were laid down as to the behaviour of all the members, and as to the religious exercises, as well as the studies, of those who were admitted to the benefit of the institution. Young men of rank or opulence, who might choose to study in the college, and to pay for their board, were bound to obey the provost, and to submit in all things to the rules of the house equally as the bursars or poor scholars.

Bishop Kennedy was careful to have his college provided with the most able teachers. With this view he called home John Athelmer who had been educated at St Andrews, but was then in the university of Paris, and placed him in the situation of

* The provost had the rectory of Cults conferred on him, the licentiate the rectory of Kembach, and the bachelor that of Denino; parish churches in the neighbourhood of St Andrews, the revenues of which they drew, after appropriating a certain part of the emoluments to the respective vicars. The rectory of Kilmany was appropriated for the common support of the founded persons, and of the servants attached to the establishment, in victuals, &c.

provost or principal *. To him he joined Thomas Logy, who had already filled the office of Rector of the university, and James Ogilvy †, as second and third masters or professors of divinity.

A college has been compared to an incorporated trade within a burgh; but it bears a still more striking resemblance to a convent. The principal difference between them is, that the latter was an association entirely for religious purposes, whereas learning was the chief object of the former. The members of a college, like the monks, were bound to live, eat, and sleep in the same house, they were supported in common upon the goods of the college, and were astricted in all things to the will of the founder. A university, though a chartered body, was not under the same regulations, nor was the same provision made for its members. The college was within the university; the members of the former were also members of the latter, partook of its privileges, and were subject to its government.

Adjoining to the church of St Leonard, and within the precincts of the Abbey, was an ancient hospital for the reception of pious strangers who came in

* Mr Jo. Athelmer was presented to the paroche church of Qhylt (Cults) March 25. 1450. He is often mentioned as Dean of Theology. "Mr Jo. Almer, præpositus Collegii Sti Salv." occurs in the records as late as 1473.

† This seems to have been the same person, who, on account of his great learning and virtue, was designed for bishop of St Andrews by the General Council of Basil, and who afterwards taught theology in the University of Aberdeen. Boetii vitæ Aberdonens Episcop. fol. xxvii, b.

pilgrimage to visit the relics of St Andrew, being attracted by the fame of the miracles wrought by them. "The miracles and pilgrimages having ceased in process of time, as may be believed," the hospital was converted into a receptacle for aged women. But the patrons, not being satisfied with the conduct of the new objects of their charity, resolved to convert the hospital, with the adjoining church, into a College, "for training up poor scholars in learning and the arts, to the glory of God and the spiritual edification of the people." This was called the *College of St Leonard.* The charter of foundation was executed in 1512, by John Hepburn, prior of the Abbey, and confirmed by archbishop Alexander Stewart, and by king James IV. The prior and conventual chapter were patrons of this College, and retained the power of visiting it and reforming its abuses. The teachers were always taken from the monastery. Alexander Young is said to have been the first person who held the situation of principal*, and was succeeded by Gavin Logie, known for his early partiality to the doctrines of the Reformation. This College was intended for the support and education of twenty

* Dr Howie, in his Oration frequently quoted, has stated that John Annand was the first principal of St Leonard's College; and Boece has done the same Vit. Episc. Abred. xxvii. But Alexander Young was principal as late as 1517. Gavin Logie in 1523—1537. Thomas Cunninghame in 1538. And John Annand was principal in 1544. Transumptum fundationis; and subscription to the Statutes in the last mentioned year.

poor scholars. The principal was appointed to read on two days of every week a lecture on the Scriptures, or on speculative theology, to the priests, regents, and others who chose to attend. And by a subsequent regulation an additional salary was appointed to be given to two of the four regents, provided they chose to read, twice or thrice in the week, a lecture on the Scriptures, or on the Master of Sentences *.

Two things are remarkable as to the college of St Leonard. In the first place, although it owed its erection to monks, was placed under their immediate superintendence, and taught constantly by persons taken from the convent; and although its original foundation and subsequent endowments were highly calculated to foster superstition †, yet the reformed opinions obtained an earlier and more extensive reception in this college than in the rest of the university ‡. In the second place, this seminary had at

* Papers of University.

† In 1525 John Archibald founded an altar in the College of Poor Students, to the honour of the blessed Virgin Mary, "for the salvation of John Hepburn, prior of the monastery and all the canons, also for the souls of Mr Michael Livingston, former vicar of Wemis, and of Sir Robert Wallis former archdeacon of St Andrews; also of the souls of his own father and his mother and his spouse Margret Symsoun, and all his benefactors and friends." —The masters appear to have entertained notions of piety somewhat different from the above, when, in 1550, they ordained that the fines levied from absentees should, after growing to a round sum, be converted "in vinum, ad refocillandos conversantium animos, et *in alios pios usus*." (Ibid.)

‡ Life of John Knox, vol. i. p. 81.

first to struggle with great difficulties on account of the slenderness of its funds; but by the vigilance of its patrons, and the diligence of those who had the charge of education, it not only surmounted these, but attained great celebrity. So many of the sons of the nobility and gentry came to study at St Leonard's, that the name of the *College of Poor Clerks*, which the founder had originally given it, conveyed a very erroneous idea of those who resided within its walls *.

There were still in the university professors and students who did not belong to either of the colleges of St Salvator and St Leonard. These continued to teach in the pædagogium, although they were not formed into a college, and had but slender funds †. Archbishop Alexander Stewart, who has been highly commended by Erasmus for his literary attainments, intended to give it a collegiate form, and

* Hovei Oratio. Comp. Cald. MS. vol. ii. p. 431.

It was required of those who were admitted to St Leonard's College, that, besides being of good character, acquainted with grammer, and skilled in writing, they should be sufficiently instructed in the *Gregorian song*,—"cantuque Gregoriano sufficienter instructum." (Papers of University.) The religious of the Priory of St Andrews were always celebrated for their skill in music, and singing formed one of the regular exercises of the students. (Boetii Aberdon. Episcop. Vitæ, f. xxvi.) Individuals who had belonged to it were employed in composing the music used in churches after the Reformation. (Old Music Book, MS.)

† Speaking of the University of St Andrews, Boece says, "Tria in eo collegia. Primum q^d pedagogiū vocāt, amoenissimo civitatis loco situ, multis viris ꝓbis atq. literatis q. ex eo ꝓdiere insigne." Aberdon. Episcop. Vitæ, f. xxvi.

with this view he not only repaired the chapel of St John the Evangelist, which served as a place of worship to the pædagogium *, but also bestowed on it the living of the church of St Michael de Tarvet in the neighbourhood of Cupar in Fife. In the deed of annexation it is said, that the pædagogium of the university "lay almost extinct in consequence of the deficiency of funds and of learned men;" and that the archbishop, with the consent of his chapter, had resolved to "endow and erect it into a college, to the praise of God, the defence of the faith, the increase of learned men, and the salvation of the souls of the king, his predecessors and successors, the archbishops of St Andrews, and all the faithful †." The premature death of the primate, who soon after fell in the field of Flowden, appears to have defeated this annexation, and prevented the erection of the college ‡. It was not to be expected that the pædagogium would rival colleges which were provided with extensive funds and accomodations both for masters and scholars. But it continued to have regents and a principal; and several distinguished individuals, among whom were

* Hovei Oratio.

† "Annexatio Parochiæ Sti Michaelis Pædagogio Universitatis in Collegium erigendo; 23. Apr. 1512." (Papers of St Mary's College.) This paper is in a very mutilated state. But it appears to have been executed, as at the end it bears this attestation: "Et ego Willmus Gybsoun artium magr. pbr ãplica notarius, quia," &c.

‡ The church of Tarvet was finally annexed to St Mary's College by archbishop Hamilton, March 31. 1558.

George Buchanan, received their education in it, while it remained on its original footing *. Archbishop James Beaton resumed the design of his predecessor, and obtained a bull from Pope Paul III. authorising him to erect buildings for a college and chapel, under the name of the Assumption of St Mary, in which grammar, logic, theology, medicine, and laws, both canon and civil, should be taught, divine offices performed, and a collegial table provided from the rents of certain benefices which were united and annexed to the institution †. The buildings which were begun on the site of the pædagogium by archbishop Beaton were carried on by his nephew and successor, the Cardinal. But the college was not finally erected until 1554, after archbishop Hamilton had obtained a papal bull from Julius III. by which he was authorised to alter at his pleasure the arrangements made by his predecessor ‡.

By the foundation of Hamilton, *St Mary's College*, or, as it was sometimes called, the *New College*, was provided with four principal professors, denominated the provost, licentiate, bachelor, and canonist; eight students of theology; three professors of philosophy and two of rhetoric and

* From 1517 to 1520, the records of the university mention "Mr David Maillwill regentem principalem Pedagogii Sanctiandreæ."

† The *Bulla Erectionis* and *Bulla Executoria* (each bearing the same date, Feb. 12. 1537.) are preserved.

‡ The bull of Julius III. is dated Aug. 26. 1552. Archb Hamilton's Foundation is dated 5 Kal. Martii 1553.

grammar; sixteen students of philosophy; a provisor, cook, and janitor; and five vicars pensionary. The principal, besides exercising the ordinary jurisdiction of the college and presiding at the theological disputations once a-week, was to read a lecture on the sacred Scriptures, or to preach, every Monday. The licentiate was to read a lecture on the Scriptures four times, and the bachelor five times a-week. And the canonist was to lecture on canon law five times every week. It was also the duty of each of these professors to say mass at stated times. The students of divinity behoved to be in priest's orders and initiated into theology, "so as to have answered thrice in public, and given specimen of their erudition according to the custom of the university." They were bound regularly to attend the lectures of the three theological professors, to answer publicly to the difficulties of Scripture every holiday, to say mass, and to preach thrice a-year in public. Their continuance in this situation was limited to six years; for it was expected, "that by the divine blessing, and their assiduity, they shall within this period be fit for becoming licentiates in theology, and for discharging higher offices." The three professors of philosophy were to teach logic, ethics, physics, and mathematics, at the direction of the principal; and the orator and grammarian, were, at the same direction, to interpret the most useful authors in their respective faculties. And they were not to hold their places above six years, or the time that they taught two courses, unless they re-

ceived a new appointment. The students of philosophy behoved, before their admission, to be initiated into grammar and the Latin tongue, so as to be able to express themselves properly in that language at disputations and examinations; to swear that they had no benefice or patrimony to support them, and to supplicate, for the love of God, to be admitted to the place of poor students. Each of them in order was bound to awake all the domestics at five in the morning, and furnish lights to such as wished them. The professors, regents, and students, were to wear capes after the Parisian manner; and all the scholars, including the noble and wealthy, as well as the bursars, were to wear gowns bound round them with a girdle, to which the bursars were to add a black hood. By the bull of Julius III. as well as that of Paul III. the college had the power of conferring degrees in all the faculties; and the jurisdiction over the bursars belonged to the principal, from whom an appeal lay to the archbishop and to the pope, to the exclusion of the rector of the university or any other judge, even in the second instance. The college was provided with ample funds *.

As early as 1538, archbishop Beaton nominated professors for his new college; and some of these, including the principal, had previously been teachers

* Fundatio et Erectio Novi Collegii. The revenues of four parish churches, Tyninghame, Tannadice, Inchebriok, (including Craig and Pert) and Conveth or Laurence-kirk, were appointed to the support of the College of St Mary; in addition, as it would appear, to what belonged to the Pædagogium.

in the pædagogium. Archbishop Hamilton, in his foundation, omitted civil law and medicine, which his predecessors had appointed to be taught. But, upon the whole, his arrangements appear to have been adapted to the means of instruction which he had in his power; and in several points they indicate a due attention to the progress which learning had made since the erection of the two other colleges. He was equally attentive in providing the college with professors. Archibald Hay, who was made principal soon after Cardinal Beaton's death, excelled the most of his countrymen at that time in learning and liberal views. Upon his premature death John Douglas was preferred to the office. We have already mentioned that the archbishop brought John Rutherford from Paris with the view of introducing into the university a more improved system of logic. And when two noted English divines, Richard Smith and Richard Martial, came to Scotland, he provided them with situations in his college *.

The defence and increase of the Catholic faith was one declared object of the erection of all the colleges. This is more particularly expressed in the deeds founding and providing for the College of St Mary. It was erected "for defending and confirming the Catholic Faith, that the Christian religion might flourish, the word of God might be more

* See Note Z.

abundantly sown in the hearts of the faithful, and to oppose the heresies and schisms of the pestiferous heretics and heresiarchs, who, alas! have sprung up and flourished in these times, in this as well as in many other parts of the world *." Yet within a short time after this language was held, these "pestiferous heretics" prevailed against the Catholic faith, and obtained possession of the places and funds which were destined for their suppression and extirpation. The nish ntant sentiments had for many years been secreregents.ading in all the colleges of St Andrews, aParisian mater part of the professors, with perhaps noble ption of those of St Salvator's, had now emb to wethem.

While t'whichgious controversy was keenly agitated, the ac lemical exercises were interrupted, and the number of students diminished. In the year 1559, the faculty of arts were under the necessity of superseding the public exhibitions usual at graduation †. Several of the masters in St Salvator's, among whom William Cranston, the principal, appears to have been included, adhered to

* Donatio de Conveth, Jun. 26. 1550; et Donatio de Tarvet, Mart. 31. 1558.

† "Nonus Rectoratus Magri Joannis Douglasii præpositi novi collegii Mariani 1558. Hoc anno propter tumultus religionis ergo exertos, paucissimi scholastici ad hanc universitatem venerunt." (Only three names of Incorporati inserted.)—"Consiliis habitis 15 Maij a° 59 de promovendis discipulis statuit academia ões laureãdos hujus pro laureatis haberi, quod universa reip. perturba°ne et religionis reformatione veteres ritus seruare impediretur."

the ancient religion, and left their places; but the greater part, if not the whole, of those belonging to the two other colleges, embraced the Reformation, and consequently retained their situations. John Douglas, afterwards archbishop of St Andrews, was at this time principal of St Mary's College *, and John Duncanson †, was principal of St Leonard's.

Every thing connected with the Roman Catholic faith and worship which was interwoven with the laws and practice of the university, and of the colleges belonging to it, was removed immediately upon the establishment of the Reformation. Other alterations were at the same time contemplated by the reformers, but various causes prevented them from being carried into effect. Accordingly, the mode of teaching, and the academical exercises, so far as related to philosophy or the arts, continued nearly on their former footing.

All the scholars who entered at one time into a college, formed a class, which was put under the

* Keith (Scottish Bishops, p. 25.) has confounded the Archbishop with a preacher named Douglas, who was chaplain to the Earl of Argyle in 1558. The description given of the latter will not answer to the former, who was provost of St Mary's College from 1547, and was always resident in the university.

† Duncanson demitted in 1566. In a donation of books, and other valuable articles, subscribed by his own hand, he styles himself "umqle Maister principall of Sanctleonardis Colleg,—and Mr James Wilkye Principall regent and maister of the samyn in name of the College askit instrument." Wilkie appears to have considered the succession to the principality as his due, but it was conferred on Buchanan.

government or tuition of a regent The regents were different from the professors, who had permanent situations in the college. Originally every master of arts was bound to teach a class, and came under an engagement to this purpose at his laureation. Afterwards it became customary to grant dispensations from this duty. When the number of graduated persons had increased, and it became in other respects an object of importance to obtain a regency, those who were desirous of it presented a petition to the faculty, in which they professed their knowledge of the text of Aristotle, and requested permission to explain it, or, in other words, to govern a class. They were ordinarily bound to continue until they had taught two classes; but at St Andrews the greater part of the regents retained their situations, to which the profits arising from altarages or chaplanries were attached, until they obtained some place in the church or in the state.

The regular time of the course was four years, but it was more usually finished in three years and a half. The session began on the first of October, and continued through the whole year, except the months of August and September, which were allowed as a vacation. The regent assembled his class three hours every day, and read and explained the books of Aristotle, which the students were bound to bring along with them. He began with dialectics or logics, then proceeded to ethics, next to physics, and concluded with metaphysics, which was called *prima philosophia* or the highest branch

of philosophy, and mathematics, which included arithmetic. During their course the students were frequently employed in disputations and declamations both privately in their class, and publicly before the college and university. The principal, besides seeing that the regents and students did their duty, frequently read public lectures on what were then reckoned the higher branches of philosophy, which were attended by all the students of the college, or at least by all but those of the first year *.

In the middle of the third year of their course, such of the students as obtained an attestation of regular attendance and good behaviour from their

* James Melville has left an account of the course of study followed by William Collace, who was his regent in St Leonard's between 1570 and 1574. After stating that he began with teaching "Cassander's Rhetoric," he adds: "We hard the Oration pro rege Deitaro. Then he gaiff ws a compend of his awin of Philosopi and the partes y^rof.—We enterit in the organ of Arist. y^t year, and leirnit to the Demonstrations.—The secund yeir of my course we hard the Demonstrations, the Topiks, and the Sophist captiones. And the Primarius Mr James Wilkie, a guid peacable sweet auld man wha luifled me weill, teached the four species of the arithmetik and sum thing of the sphere.—The thrid yeir of our course we hard the fyve buiks of the Ethiks, w^t the aught buiks of the Physiks, and de ortu et interitu. That yeir we had our Bachelar act according to the solemnities then used of Declamations, banqueting, and playes.—The fourt and last yeir of our course, quhilk was the 17 yeir of my age outpast and 18 rinning, we learned the buiks de cœlo and meteors, also the sphere more exactly teachit by our awin regent, and maid ws for our vicces and blukstons, and had at Pace our promotion and finishing of our course." Diary, pp. 22—24.

regent and the principal of their college, were admitted to enter on trials for the degree of bachelor. The faculty chose every year three regents, one from each college, as examinators. In the presence of these the candidates *determined** a question, in logic or morals, in a continued discourse, and answered such questions as were proposed to them on any of the branches which they had studied under their respective regents. The examinators made their report to the faculty, when such as had given satisfaction were confirmed bachelors by the Dean, and the rest were sent to a lower class.—The act of laureation at the end of the course was conducted in a similar manner. But on this occasion the candidates were examined on the whole circle of the arts, and were bound to defend a thesis, which had been previously affixed to the gates of the different colleges. They were divided into circles, and their names arranged according to their merit, with a certain preference, however, to persons of rank †. And the degree of master of arts was solemnly conferred by the Chancellor of the university, *in nomine Patris, Filii, et Spiritus Sancti.* The intermediate degree of licentiate of arts is recognized by the laws, but it was not separately conferred, at least in later

* From this act they were called *Determinantes.*

† "Examinatos secundum scientiæ & morum eminentiam principaliter locent et ordinent. Ex præclara tamen domo paterna nobilitatem sanguinis trahentes, nec non cum Regentibus honeste & commensaliter viventes, modo in literis aliqualiter eruditi et moribus probi, nonnihil pensitantes." Statuta anno 1570.

times. Both at receiving the degree of bachelor and master, the graduates paid certain sums of money, according to their rank, to the purse of the university and of the faculty, to the dean, and to other officers; and those who were poor obliged themselves to give what was due to the public funds as soon as they were in ability. By an old law, each student, including those who held bursaries, was bound to give to his regent annually, for three years, a Scots noble, which in later times was interpreted as answering to a pound Scots, "*salva cujuscunque uberiore liberalitate* *."

We cannot form such an exact judgment respecting the ancient mode of teaching in the theological faculty, as the Reformation necessarily made a greater change on this department of instruction. Many of the ancient forms, however, were still retained and observed. There continued to be a theological faculty, consisting of the doctors, licentiates, and bachelors of divinity, who resided within the university†. They assembled, along with the stu-

* Statuta 17 Mart. 1593. By the Statutes of 1561, the student was bound to give *thirty shillings*, "unless he be poor."

The designation *pauper* does not appear to have been always used in the same sense. In Feb. 1579, it was declared "Solos bursarios et mendices pauperes esse censendos." But from other documents it appears that all the students of philosophy were divided into three classes; "Primars or *potentiores*, Secondars or *potentes*, and ternars or *minus potentes*, olim *pauperes*;" and the latter paid dues, although proportionally smaller than the two former.

† Baron says, that John Winram was dean of the faculty of theology about 1574. (Orat. super Jac. Martino.)

dents of divinity, annually on the first of October, when a sermon, or discourse calculated to excite the hearers to diligence in sacred studies, was delivered. After this the masters and bachelors met by themselves, and arranged the subjects on which each should read lectures during the year, and the times at which they should read them. The lectures were delivered on the Scriptures, which were divided into five parts; the Pentateuch or legal books, the historical books, the sapiential, the prophetical, and those of the New Testament*. "Formerly, under papacy, the students ascended to degrees in theology, by reading the Sentences of Peter Lombard; but now, since the reformation of religion and the burial of popery, this practice is altered and reformed." From the beginning of July to the end of September there was an intermission of the lectures; and during this interval, the students were exercised once a-week in theological disputations, at which one of the masters presided, and the rest were present and took a share in the debate. The disputants were exhorted to avoid the altercation usually practised in the schools, "and not to bite and devour one another like dogs, but to behave as

* The particular books included under each of these divisions are specified; and it is a curious circumstance, that the most of the Apocryphal books are among them. Thus, among the historical books are, 'duo Esdre, duo Tobie, Judith, quibus et duo Macabeorum libri adjungi possunt." Among the sapiential books are, 'Librum Sapientiæ et Ecclesiasticum;" and "Baruch" is enumerated along with the books of the prophets. (Statut. Theol. Reform. A. 1570.)

men desirous of mutual instruction, and as the servants of Christ, who ought not to strive but to be gentle to all."

The lectures were chiefly delivered by those who were proceeding in their theological degrees. Before entering on this process, they behoved to have been students of divinity for three years, to have sustained the part of a respondent twice in the public disputes during the vacancies, to have given proof of their talents twice in the weekly exercise or prophesying, and to have preached once in the vulgar language before the people, and once in Latin before the university. After this, being admitted by the faculty, they taught for four years in the public schools, by expounding the Scriptures according to the arrangement formerly mentioned. At the commencement of each part of their course, they delivered a probatory discourse before the faculty, which may be viewed as a specimen of the mode of teaching then practised. The lecturer began with celebrating the Divine wisdom displayed in the books of Scripture which he proposed to expound; he next gave a summary of their contents; and, in the third place, taking occasion from a particular passage, he started a question, stated the opinions held on the affirmative and negative sides, laid down certain propositions for clearing the truth, confirmed it by testimonies of Scripture, and solved the objections that might be urged against it. Before the students in the public schools, the lecturers were bound to confine themselves to a

single chapter at a time, and were directed to explain the text distinctly and methodically, by collation of the sacred books, or by producing the judgment of the most approved and skilful interpreters, so as that nothing was brought forward that could not stand the test of Scripture —It would seem that the method followed by the professors in their lectures coincided with what we have now described *.

When the student commenced lecturing on the legal books, he was declared by the faculty a *cursory* bachelor of divinity; on commencing the prophetical books, he became a *formed* bachelor; and, on entering on the books of the New Testament, he was pronounced a *confirmed* or complete bachelor. On finishing his course of teaching, he proceeded to take his degrees of licentiate and doctor. The statutes describe at length the disputations which were maintained, and the ceremonies which were used on both these occasions †.

Such was the plan of study agreed upon by the theological professors about the time of the Reformation. But there is no good reason to think that it was reduced to practice; and though this had been the case, it has little claim to our commendations. The lectures read by young men who had studied divinity for so short a period as three years, must have been extremely jejune and superfi-

* Melville's Diary, p. 24.

† Statuta Fac. Theolog. olim condita, et jam abolito papismo et reformata religione, circa A. D. 1560, in parte mutata, et juxta normam verbi Dei in melius reformata.

cial, and it does not appear that any effectual provision was made to secure their diligence or to superintend their exhibitions. Yet such as they were, they operated as a pretext for the regular professors neglecting the duty of theological instruction. In these circumstances we need not be surprised to find that the study of divinity in the university was nearly nominal, and that scholastic philosophy engrossed the attention of both masters and scholars *.

The First Book of Discipline contained a scheme for new-modelling the three universities, and proposed the following arrangements for St Andrews. The first college was to contain classes for dialectics, mathematics, natural philosophy, and medicine. In the second college there was to be a lecturer on ethics, economicks and politics, and two lecturers on law, Roman and municipal. And in the third college there were to be two teachers of languages, one of Greek and another of Hebrew, and two teachers of divinity, the one of the Old and the other of the New Testament. None were to be graduated in their respective faculties unless they had attended the regular course, which, for students of philosophy, was three years, of law, four years, and of medicine and divinity, five years. This plan was unquestionably an improvement of the original constitution, according to which the three colleges were completely independent, and exactly the same branches were taught in each. And in other respects it was

* Melville's Diary, p. 92.

favourable to the advancement of literature and science. But it was not adopted. In vain did the authors recommend it to the nobility, along with a proposal to erect parochial schools, as contributing to "the most high advancement of the commonwealth." In vain did they urge, "If God shall give your wisdoms grace to set forward letters in the sort prescribed, ye shall leave wisdom and learning to your posterity, a treasure more to be esteemed than any earthly treasures ye are able to amass for them, which, without wisdom, are more able to be their ruin and confusion than help and comfort *." Prejudice is blind, and avarice deaf, to all considerations of public good; but the plan will remain a lasting monument of the enlightened and patriotic views of its compilers.

In the year 1563, a petition was presented to the Queen and Lords of Articles, "in the name of all that within this realm ar desyrous that leirning and letters floreis †," stating that the patrimony of some of the foundations in the colleges, particularly those of St Andrews, was wasted, and that several sciences, and especially those that were most necessary, the tongues and humanity, were very imperfectly taught in them, to the great detriment of the whole lieges, their children and posterity; and praying that mea-

* First Book of Discipline: *Of the Erection of Universities.*

† This petition continued to lie before the Parliament; and in 1567, and again in 1581, it was referred by them to the consideration of commissioners. It must, therefore, have contained proposals additional to those which were sanctioned by the act of 1579. Act. Parl. Scot. vol. iii. pp. 30, 214.

sures should be taken to remedy these evils. In consequence of this the parliament appointed a committee to visit the colleges, and to report their opinion as to the best mode of improving the state of education *. No report from the committee is on record; but there has been preserved a plan for the colleges of St Andrews, which appears to have been drawn up, in virtue of this appointment, by Buchanan, who was one of the commissioners. The particular arrangements which it proposes differ from those of the First Book of Discipline, though they proceed on the same general principle. The first college was to be entirely confined to the teaching of languages, and was in a great measure regulated as a grammar school †. The second, called the college of philosophy, was to have four regents in the arts, and a lecturer on medicine. The third, named the college of divinity, was most poorly provided for: it was only to have a principal to be reader in Hebrew, and a lawyer ‡. The author of this draught had his attention too ex-

* Act. Parl. Scot. vol. ii. p. 544.

† It seems to have been formed on the model of the college or great school of Geneva. Les Ordonnances Ecclesiastique de l'Eglise de Geneve: Item l'Ordre des Escoles, pp. 83—7.

‡ The plan is published in Dr Irving's Mem. of Buchanan, App. No. iii. 2d edit. According to the old plan of teaching in universities, mathematics formed, very preposterously, the last part of the course. The First Book of Discipline appointed them to be taught before physics. But Buchanan's plan reverts to the ancient arrangement—"the naturell philosophie, metaphisicks, and principis of mathematicks."

clusively directed to the cultivation of the languages and humanity.

The civil war which raged between the adherents of the king and queen put a stop to these measures of academical reform, but no sooner was this terminated than the design was resumed by the friends of literature. In April 1576, the General Assembly appointed commissioners to visit and consider the state of the university of St Andrews *; and in 1578, the parliament made a similar appointment as to all the universities in the kingdom †. Nothing having been done in consequence of this appointment, the General Assembly which met in July 1579, presented a petition to the king and council, in which they urged the propriety of reforming the university of St Andrews, and nominated certain commissioners to co-operate in that business with such as the council might be pleased to appoint ‡. The council immediately appointed commissioners, to whom they gave ample powers. They were authorized to consider the foundations in the university, and not only to remove superstition and displace unqualified persons, but also to change the form of study and the number of professors, to join

* Buik of Universall Kirk, p. 65.

† Act. Parl. Scot. iii. 98. Melville was one of the commissioners nominated by Parliament to visit the University of St Andrews. They were authorised to examine the foundations of the colleges, to reform what tended to superstition, to remove unqualified and plant qualified persons; but not to make alterations on the mode of teaching.

‡ Buik of Univ. Kirk, p. 93

or divide the faculties, to annex each faculty to such college as they thought most proper for it, and in general to establish such order in the university as should tend most to the glory of God, profit of the commonwealth, and good up-bringing of the youth in sciences, needful for continuance of the true religion. The commissioners found, that all the colleges had departed from their original foundations, and that these foundations disagreed in many things with the true religion, and were far from "that perfection of teaching which this learned age craves;" and they agreed upon a new form of instruction to be observed in the university. This was laid before the ensuing meeting of parliament, by whom it was ratified on the 11th of November, 1579.

In the college of St Salvator, a principal, and four ordinary professors or regents of humanity and philosophy, were established. The first regent was to teach the Greek Grammar, and to exercise the students in Latin composition during the first, and in Greek during the second half year. The second regent, who was also considered as a professor of humanity, was to teach the principles of invention, disposition, and elocution, or, in other words, of rhetoric, in the shortest, easiest, and most accurate manner, with the practice of them in the best authors Roman and Greek. The students of this class were to spend an hour at least every day in composition, and during the last half year they were to declaim or pronounce an oration once every month,

in Latin and Greek alternately. It was the duty of the third regent to teach the most profitable and needful parts of the logics of Aristotle, with the ethics and politics, all in Greek, and the offices of Cicero in Latin. The fourth regent was to teach so much of the physics as was needful, and the doctrine of the sphere. Each regent was to retain his own profession. On Sunday a lesson on the Greek New Testament was to be read in all the four classes. There were also established in this college professors of mathematics and law, who were to lecture on four days of every week. The lectures on law were to be attended by all the advocates and writers in the commissary court; and none were to be admitted for the future to act as procurators before the lords or other judges, until they gave specimen of their doctrine before the university, and produced a testimonial of their diligent attendance and the degree of their progress. The principal of St Salvator's was to act as professor in medicine.—The same arrangements were made as to the College of St Leonards; with this difference, that there were no classes for mathematics and law established in it, and the principal, instead of medicine, was to explain the philosophy of Plato.—St Mary's or the New College was appropriated entirely to the study of theology and the languages connected with it. The course of study in it was to be completed in four years under the instruction of five professors. The first professor was to teach the elements of Hebrew during six months, and of Chaldee and Syriac during the

remainder of the first year. During the subsequent eighteen months the students were to prosecute these languages under the second professor, who was to explain the pentateuch and historical books of the Old Testament critically, by comparing the original text with the Chaldee paraphrases, the Septuagint, and other learned versions. The third professor was to explain the prophetical books of the Old Testament after the same manner, during the last eighteen months of the course. During the whole four years the fourth professor was to explain the New Testament by comparing the original with the Syriac version. And the fifth professor, who was Principal of the College, was to lecture, during the same period, on the common places, or system of divinity. By this arrangement, all the students were bound to attend the lectures of three professors every day during the continuance of their theological course; by which it was expected that they would, "with meane diligence, becume perfite theologians." Public disputations were to be held every week, declamations once a month, and at three periods during the course, a solemn examination was to take place, at which, "every learned man shall be free to dispute." Eight bursars of theology were to reside with the professors, and to be supported on the rents of the college. It was ordained, that after four years had elapsed from the date of this new erection, none should be admitted ministers of the church, who had not completed their course of

theology, or who should not be found worthy and qualified to receive all their degrees in it after a "rigorous examination" by the faculty. The persons at present occupying the place of masters in the New College, were ordered to remove from it without delay. From the "great variety at this present of learned in the knowledge of the tongues and other things needful," the commissioners had elected such as they thought most qualified for teaching in the New College; and they ordained, that upon any future vacancy the place should be filled by open comparative trial before the archbishop of St Andrews, the conservator of the privileges of the university, the rector, deans of faculty, and theological professors. Vacancies in the two other colleges were to be supplied in a similar manner. As the youth had lost much time by long vacations, it was ordained, that for the future the classes should sit during the whole year, except the month of September *. Rules were laid down for preventing the revenues of the colleges from being wasted or diverted to improper uses. And at the end of every period of four years a royal visitation of the university was to take place, to enquire into the effects of this reformation, and to take care that its regulations were observed †.

It would be affronting the learned reader to enter

* So early as the days of Augustine, it appears that the month of September, as the season of the vintage, was allowed as a vacation in schools. Valesiana, p. 65.

† Act. Parl. Scot. vol. iii. pp. 178—182.

into a statement of the superiority of this plan of education to that which it was intended to supersede. It was the most liberal and enlightened plan of study which had yet been established, as far as I know, in any European university. In comparing it with modern institutions, allowance must be made for the imperfect state in which many of the sciences were at that period. But even as to these we may observe in its regulations an evident tendency to improvement. The "most profitable and needful parts" only of the Aristotelian logic and physics were to be taught; and the lectures on Platonic philosophy served as a counterpoise to the Peripatetic, which had hitherto possessed an exclusive and uncontrolled authority in the university. The method of study prescribed for the theological college was well calculated to realize the hopes expressed in the act. It appointed a greater number of teachers of the Old Testament than either was necessary or could easily be obtained; and one of them might have been employed with more advantage in reading lectures on Ecclesiastical History*. But the attention paid to the sacred languages, and especially to the oriental tongues, is entitled to the highest commendation, and shews that the authors of the plan had conceived correct ideas of the importance of this branch of literature for forming able and judicious interpreters of Scripture. Indeed,

* This arrangement was introduced into the college at a later period.

it proceeds upon the very principles which have since been laid down and recommended by the best writers on Biblical Interpretation. I would not, however, be understood as intimating, that the benefits which actually resulted from this change on the university were proportioned to its merits. The wisest plans and the most salutary enactments will prove nugatory, if proper measures are not taken to carry them into execution. There is reason to think, that, in the present instance, such measures were not adopted, and that the new mode of study was very partially acted upon in the colleges of St Salvator and St Leonard. Nor was the act of parliament carried into effect as to the number of professors in the New College.

The Reformation of the university of St Andrews has, by mistake, been ascribed to Buchanan. This has arisen partly from confounding it with another scheme of academical instruction which he appears to have drawn up *, and partly from his being one of the commissioners who subscribed the plan that was actually adopted. That he assisted in correcting it, and in procuring for it a parliamentary sanction, is highly probable. But there is no reason for supposing that the plan was of his construction. The course of his studies and the nature of his acquirements did not qualify him for entering into the arrangements which are most minutely detailed in it. We have direct evidence that Mel-

* See above p. 239.

ville had the principal hand in drawing it up*; and though this had been awanting, we would have been warranted in forming this opinion, from the striking resemblance that it bears to the mode of study which he had previously introduced into the university of Glasgow †.

It was at first proposed that St Salvator's, or the Old College, as it was called, should be converted into the seminary for divinity, on account of the number of chaplanries founded in it, which would serve for the sustentation of the theological students. And, to make room for Melville, it had been agreed that James Martine, who was at the head of that College, should be translated, and made principal of the New College. But upon maturer deliberation this measure was thought unadvisable. It was judged that those who were presented to the chaplanries in St Salvator's might study theology in any college in which it was appointed to be taught. The revenues of the New College, and the number of bursars in it, were greater than those of either of the other two. And there was less need for dispossessing the founded persons in it, in order to make room for those who had been elected professors of theology ‡. This last was the chief reason of its being preferred. The General Assembly had declared that Robert Hamilton's holding the office of provost of the New

* Melville's Diary, pp. 58, 64. † See above pp. 72. 73.

‡ Determination anent the Old and New College, September 6. 1579; subscribed "R. Dunfermling. P. Sanctandros."

College was an impediment to him in the discharge of his duty as minister of St Andrews, and had repeatedly enjoined him to demit the former situation*. Archibald Hamilton, the second principal master of that college, who had long been disaffected to the constitution in church and state, had lately avowed himself a Roman Catholic, and deserted the university. The place of John Hamilton, one of the regents, had been vacated in the same way †.

* Buik of Universall Kirk, p. 67. Cald. MS. vol. iii. pp. 480, 564.

† Archibald Hamilton's name occurs for the last time in the records of the university, Nov. 2. 1576, when he was elected one of the auditors of the questor's accompts.—On the 6th Oct. 1574, his name was excluded from the roll of persons to be chosen as elders, "because he being of befoir nominat and electit refused to accept the office of elder on him, and not to be nominat quhil he mak repentance y'foie." (Records of the Kirk Session of St Andrews.)

John Hamilton, "ex gymnasio M^o," was chosen one of the examinators of the bachelors, Feb. 21. 1574. He could not, therefore, have left Scotland earlier than 1575. Lord Hailes, (Sketch of the Life of John Hamilton, p. 2.) says that he was in France in 1573; proceeding upon the authority of Servin, who, in 1586, says, "Il y a treze ans qu'il demeure en ceste ville." Plaidoyé de Maistre Loys Servin Advocat en Parlament, pour Maistre Jean Hamilton Escossois, p. 14. Par. 1586. The *Plaidoyé* was published by Hamilton himself, which shews how difficult it is to attain to accuracy in such minute circumstances. The counsel who pleaded against Hamilton alleged, "qu'il ne sçait parler ne Latin ne François." Servin replied that his client was ready to give proof before the parliament of his knowledge of both languages. Ibid. pp. 59, 109. The pleading related to the cure of St Cosme and St Damian, to which Hamilton had been presented by the university, and contains some curious matter as to the constitution of universities and the privileges of the Scots in France.

The professors of law and of mathematics in St Mary's College were transferred to St Salvator's. And such of the regents as were displaced were allowed to remain, if they chose, as bursars of theology.

When this reformation was made on the university, Patrick Adamson, as archbishop of St Andrews, held the honorary office of Chancellor. James Wilkie was Rector of the University, and Principal of the College of St Leonard, in which he had taught for more than thirty years *. James Martine was Principal of St Salvator's College, which place John Rutherfurd, shortly before his death, had resigned to him †. Though he had never left the college in which he received his education, the literary attainments of Martine were respectable, and he continu-

* In the Library at St Andrews, there are Greek books which belonged to James Wilkie, containing MS. notes, from which Dr Lee is induced to think that he was acquainted with that language. There is the same evidence as to the literary acquirements of John Rutherfurd, William Ramsay, John Duncanson, and Robert Wilkie.

† On the 20th September 1577, "Johne Rutherfurd younger, son lawfull to ane venerabill man, Mr Johne Rutherfurd, Rector of the university of St And^{s}—with *express* consent and assent of the said Mr Johne his father," signed a letter of factory to the haill of the tiend sheaves of Quilt; "*presentibus* Mro Jacobo Martine *præposito* dicti Collegii, &c." On the 18th December, 1577, "Christiane Forsyth, relict and executrix of umqll Mr Johne Rutherfurd, sumtyme provost of St Salvator's College, and rector of the university of St And^{s}, delivered certain writts and evidentis," &c. Rutherfurd must, therefore, have died in the interval between the 20th September, and the 18th December, 1577. (Papers of University.)

ed to discharge the duties of his office with credit to himself for nearly half a century *. William Skene was Dean of the Faculty of Arts, and Conservator of the Privileges of the University.

It is difficult to ascertain the precise number of students who attended the university at one time. In ordinary cases it does not appear that it exceeded two hundred, and it did not fall much short of that number, during the latter half of the sixteenth century. Fewer had attended it during the first half, and still fewer previously to that period.

* Baronii Orat. Funeb. pro M. Jacobo Martinio.

CHAPTER VI.

Melville is installed principal of St Mary's College—his colleagues—character of his theological lectures—meets with opposition from the ejected teachers—gives offence by his censures of Aristotle—favourable change on the university—change on the court—dangerous schemes of Lennox and Arran—their corrupt influence on the king—National Covenant—Montgomery made archbishop of Glasgow—is served with a libel by Melville—submits to the church—retracts his submission and is excommunicated—resentment of the court—Melville's sermon before the General Assembly—his intrepid conduct at Perth—the Raid of Ruthven—death of Winram and Buchanan—Melville employed in preaching at St Andrews—Arran recovers his interest at court—Death of Arbuthnot and Smeton—Melville is summoned before the Privy Council—his trial—he escapes into England—remarks upon his declinature—conduct of archbishop Adamson—Melville counteracts his letters to foreign churches—overthrow of Presbytery—ministers fly from persecution—state of the university after the flight of Melville—he visits the

English universities—death of Lawson—tyranny of the Scottish court—Melville returns to Scotland with the banished lords.

In the month of December 1580, Melville went to St Andrews, accompanied by Sir Andrew Ker of Fadounside, the lairds of Braid and Lundie, and James Lawson and John Dury, ministers of Edinburgh *. Being formally installed as Principal of the New College, he delivered his inaugural oration, and proceeded to lecture on the system of theology.

He had obtained liberty to select from the university of Glasgow such as he thought best qualified for teaching the sacred languages under him; but as he was averse to hurt that rising institution, and to weaken the hands of his successor, he contented himself with taking along with him his nephew, James Melville, who, being admitted professor of the oriental tongues, began to give lessons on Hebrew. At the same time, John Robertson commenced teaching in the Greek New Testament. The talents and literature of Robertson were not of a superior order†; but as he was unexceptionable in other respects, and had long been a regent in

* The persons nominated by the General Assembly to attend him, were "the Lairds of Lundie, of Scyy, and Collathie, with Mr Robert Pont, Mr James Lawson, and William Christieson." Cald. MS. vol. iii. p. 642.

† Dr Lee is of opinion that, if a judgment may be formed from the books on which his name still appears, Robertson was not devoid of taste for polite letters.

that college, it was not judged proper to displace him, and the principal exerted himself in supplying his deficiencies*. These were all the professors appointed at this time; the commissioners having determined that the two other places should not be filled, until those who held bursaries of philosophy in the college had finished their course†.

The ability with which Melville went through his first course of lectures at St Andrews, is acknowledged by his greatest enemies. Of this the testimony of the biographer, and son-in-law of Adamson, may be regarded as a satisfactory proof "To confess the truth (says he) candidly and ingenuously, Melville was a learned man; but more qualified for ruling in the schools than in the church or commonwealth. Of his first course, extending to four or five years, I can speak from personal knowledge, having been one of his eager and constant hearers. He taught learnedly and perfectly the knowledge and practice of the Hebrew, Chaldee, Syriac, and Rabinical languages. At the same time, he elucidated with much erudition and accuracy the heads of theology, as laid down in the Institutions of John Calvin, and other writings of excellent divines, together with the principal books of both Testaments, and the most difficult and abstruse mysteries of revealed religion ‡."

Melville's lectures excited an interest in the uni-

* Melville's Diary, p. 65. † Act Parl. Scot. iii. 181.
‡ Vita Patricii Adamsoni: Opera Theo. Volumi J. C. p. 4.

versity, and were attended not only by the students of theology, but also by several of the masters in the other colleges, who were conscious of their deficiency in those branches of learning in which he excelled, and not ashamed to be taught after they had become the teachers of others. Among these was the amiable Robert Rollock, at that time a regent in St Salvator's College, and soon after chosen to be the first professor and principal in the newly erected university of Edinburgh *.

Notwithstanding these gratifying testimonies of approbation, the apprehensions which Melville had entertained as to the difficulties which he would meet with in his new situation were verified. It was not to be expected that the extensive change prescribed by the late act of Parliament could be carried into effect, without exciting dissatisfaction in the university. To introduce a reform into old corporations has always been found a difficult task; and self-interest has a powerful influence on learned bodies, as well as on those which are constituted for purposes directly secular. Some of the teachers were offended at losing their places, others at the reduction of their salaries; the new regula-

Lond. 1619. 12mo. Thomas Wilson, "in coll. novo," was made A. M. in 1577; but he probably remained in it after that period as a bursar or student of theology. For, Mr Thomas Vilsonus is among those who subscribed the articles of religion "in Collegio Mariano," from 1580 to 1587. His name occurs in a list of advocates for the year 1585. (Records of the Hospital of Perth.)

* Melville's Diary, p. 66.

tions respecting the mode of teaching were alarming to the indolence of some, and revolting to the prejudices of others. All of them were disposed, however unreasonably, to impute their sufferings to Melville. William Skene and William Welwood, the professors of law and mathematics, had been removed from the new college to that of St Salvator. The funds of the latter had of late been greatly impaired by negligence, or by improper leases; and the old professors complained, that they were unable to bear the additional burden imposed on them; alleged that the new professors were superfluous and unnecessary, and resisted the payment of their salaries*.

Robert Hamilton vented his chagrin at being deprived of the provostship of the new college, by instituting a process against his successor for arrears which he alleged to be due to him. Melville, when he accepted the office, had insisted that, previous to his entering upon its duties, all accounts

* Supplication to the Privy Council, by the Chancellor, &c. of University, against Mr William Welwood, professor of mathematics; 25th July 1583. The petitioners say, that Welwood "hes employed no diligence in that profession of mathematik this yeir,"—that the "college is superexpendit, and that the smalness of the rent is not able to sustenne sick extraordinar professors,"—and they offer to prove "the said extraordinar professors to be superfluous and unprofitable in the universitie—becaus no ordinar auditour can be found to resort fruitfullie to the said extraordinar professouris." The presentation of Mr Robert Wilkie, to be chaplain of the altar of St John the Evangelist, and Mary Magdelene, "ult. Mart. 1578," was subscribed before "Mag. Wmo Walwod tertio Magro Novi Collegii."

should be settled, and he now devolved the plea on the commissioners to whom parliament had referred that business. They were so far influenced, however, as to throw the claim upon him. The death of Hamilton* suspended the process; but it was revived and carried on by the individual who married his widow. This was Thomas Buchanan, master of the grammar-school of Stirling, who had lately been appointed provost of the collegiate church of Kirkheugh, and minister of Ceres, in the neighbourhood of St Andrews†. He was a very intimate friend of Melville, who felt hurt at being harassed by one upon whose assistance he had calculated, when he undertook his present difficult charge. The dispute was finally settled, by the allotting of a glebe belonging to the college to Hamilton's relict during life.‡

* He died April 16. 1581. (Register of Commissary Decreets, Nov. 13. 1596.)

† The Church of Kirkheuch, Kirkhill, or our Lady of the Rock, was situated beside the harbour of St Andrews. The parish of Ceres was attached to it, as a prebend or provision for the provost. "Jacobus, Allerdeis" was "Præpositus Ecclesiæ Collegiatæ Beatæ Mariæ Virginis, in rupe prope civitatem S. Andreæ," before the reformation. "Mr James Lermonth, provost of Kirkhill, besyde the citie of St And*," lets lands in "parochin of Seres," Dec. 7. 1565; and Sept. 16. 1570. (Commissary Records of St Andrews.) "Mr Thomas buchannaine" presented to "the prouestrie of Kirkhill," April 1. 1578, in the room of umqll Mr James Lermonth. (Reg. of Present. to Benefices, vol. ii. f. 1.)

‡ Melville's Diary, p. 91. "I'lspet Traill an of the dochteris and airis of umqll Jhone Traill younger of Magask my fader, and ane of the oyis and appeirand airis of umqll Jhone Traill

John Caldcleugh, one of the outed regents, was extremely noisy with his complaints, and boasted in all companies that he would *hough* the new-made principal, whenever he met him. He one day burst into Melville's chamber, and demanded rudely, if he knew him. Melville said, he did not. "I should be known as a master of this college: my name is Mr John Caldcleugh."—"Ho! Is this you that will hough men?" replied Melville; and, shutting the door, told him that they were now alone, and he had a fair opportunity of carrying his threats into execution. Caldcleugh's choler and his courage immediately fell; upon which Melville gave him such a severe, and at the same time friendly, lecture on the impropriety of his conduct, that he went away quite mortified and humbled, accepted of a

of Blebow my guds^r with spetiall advys consent and assent of Mr Robert Hamiltown now my spous," &c. (Commissary Record of St And. A° 1567.) In a process before the Magistrates of St Andrews, in which Thomas Buchanan and Elizabeth Traill his spouse were defenders, it was pleaded, that "Mr Thomas Buchquhanan is supposit of the universitie of St And^s and ane actuall student of theologie, and y^rfor the said cause should be remittit to the rector and his off^rs (assessors) as only juges competent y^rto, and the provest and baillies aucht to declair themselff is incompetent in the said caus." The pursuer pleaded that "the former allegiance aucht and sowld be repellit, in respect of his bill conceavit upon ane deid don betwix Helene Hunter, spouse to the said persewar, and the said Elizabeth Traill quha is na supposit of the universitie, and the said Mr Thomas onlie convenit for his enteris, qlk can na wayis stay this actioun, bot the baillies in respect y^rof aucht to proceed heiruntill." (Burrow Court, Dec. 14. 1591.)

bursary in the college, and lived in it quietly as a student, until he was called to act as a professor*.

The discontents of the excluded masters were scarcely allayed, when a greater storm arose against Melville from the other colleges. In the course of his lectures on the system of theology, he took occasion, when treating of such heads as the Being and Attributes of God, Creation, and Providence, to expose the errors contained in the writings of Aristotle, and to shew that they were inconsistent with the principles of both natural and revealed religion. No sooner was this known, than the regents of philosophy raised an outcry against him, almost as violent as that of the craftsmen of Ephesus, when the apostle preached against idolatry, and from motives not essentially different from theirs †. They complained that their character was attacked, and their credit undermined; and that a philosopher who had been held in immemorial veneration in all the schools of the world, was falsely accused and indecently traduced. So zealous were the members of St Leonard's College that they delivered solemn orations in defence of Aristotle, containing broad insinuations against the individual who had been so presumptuous as to condemn their oracle.

* "I was in the chalmer abon (says James Melville) and hard all, and cam down at last to the ending of it." Diary, pp. 91—2.

† "Thair breadwinner, thair honor, thair estimatioun, all was goan, giff Aristotle should be so owirharled in the hoiring of thair schollars." Ibid. p. 92.

Tu ne cede malis, sed contra audentior ito, was the principle by which Melville was guided on all such occasions*. Disregarding the ignorant clamour and interested alarm which had been excited, he persisted in the course which he had taken; and, when the subject was introduced in the public meetings of the university at vacations and promotions, he refuted the arguments of his opponents with such readiness, force of reasoning, and overpowering eloquence, as reduced them to silence. Before he had been two years at St Andrews, a favourable change was visible on the university. Many of those who were most strongly prejudiced against the new learning, as they called it, were induced to apply to the acquisition of languages; instead of boasting perpetually of the authority of Aristotle, and quoting him ignorantly at second-hand, they perused his writings in the original; studied the arts for purposes of real utility, and not for shew and verbal contention; and, becoming real philosophers and theologians, acknowleged, that they had undergone "a wonderful transportation out of darkness into light." Among these were John Malcolm and Andrew Duncan, then regents of St Leonard's, and afterwards ministers of Perth and Crail, who from being among the keenest opponents, were converted into warm admirers and steady friends of Melville †.

* Melvini Epist. p. 70.

† Melville's Diary, p. 92. John Malcolm was the son of Andrew Malcolm, who (in an instrument of sasine to Mondy Roger, Oct. 20. 1577,) is styled "Provost sir Andrew

In the midst of his academical labours, Melville was summoned to the defence of the liberties of the church, and the ecclesiastical polity which he had been so active in establishing. Soon after James had taken the reins of government into his own hands, Esme Stewart, Lord d'Aubigné, a cousin of his father's, arrived from France. He gave out that he came to pay a short visit to his royal relative, and to claim certain lands which had descended to him from his ancestors; but excuses were found for prolonging his stay, and it soon appeared, that his journey had been undertaken with the view of advancing more important and extensive designs. Since the coronation of James, all intercourse between the courts of Scotland and France had been broken off, and those who were successively entrusted with the regency had cultivated an exclusive connection with England. The present was deemed, by the King of France and house of Guise, a favourable opportunity for recovering their influence over the counsels of this country, and d'Aubigné was judged a fit instrument for accomplishing this object, by insinuating himself into the favour of the young monarch. His prepossessing person and engaging manners made an easy conquest of the royal affections; and he quickly rose,

Malcolme, pistor burgen. burgi de Perth."—I have a copy of the History of Polybius (Basileæ 1549. Folio. Gr. & Lat.) which has the following inscription on the title-page in Melville's handwriting: "Andreas Melvinus me jure possidet, ex dono Joannis Malcolmi. Της εν Θεω φιλιας ουδεν βεβαιοτερον"

through a gradation of honours, to be Duke of Lennox, and Lord High Chamberlain. Under his influence the court underwent a complete change, and was filled with persons who were addicted to popery, who had uniformly opposed the king's authority, or whose private characters rendered them totally unworthy of access to the royal ear. Among these was Captain James Stewart, a son of Lord Ochiltree, and a man of the most profligate manners, and the most unprincipled ambition. By these upstarts the design was undertaken of exchanging the friendship of England for that of France, and of associating the name of Queen Mary with that of her son in the government of the kingdom; a design which could not be carried into execution, without overturning all that had been done during fourteen years, and exposing the national liberties and the protestant establishment to the utmost peril*.

This change on the court could not fail to alarm the ministers of the church, who had received satisfactory information of the project that was on foot. Their apprehensions were confirmed by the arrival of several jesuits and seminary priests from abroad, and by the open revolt of some who had hitherto professed the protestant faith. They accordingly warned their hearers of the danger which they apprehended, and pointed at the favourite as an emissary of the house of Guise and of Rome. Lennox, after holding a conference with some of

* See Note A A.

the ministers, declared himself a convert to the protestant doctrine, and publicly renounced the popish religion *. The jealousy of the nation was revived and inflamed by the interception of letters from Rome, granting a dispensation to the Roman Catholics to profess the protestant tenets for a time, provided they preserved an inward attachment to the ancient faith, and embraced every opportunity of advancing it in secret †. This discovery was the immediate occasion of that memorable transaction, the swearing of the *National Covenant*. It was drawn up by John Craig, and consisted of an abjuration, in the most solemn and explicit terms, of the various articles of the popish system, and an engagement to adhere to and defend the doctrine and discipline of the reformed church in Scotland. As the stability of the protestant religion depended "upon the safety and good behaviour of the King's Majesty, as upon a comfortable instrument of God's mercy granted to this country," the covenanters (for the reformers of Scotland were always *Covenanters*, and always *loyal*, though never *slavish*) promised, "under the same oath, hand-writ, and pains, that we shall defend his person and authority with our goods, bodies, and lives, in the defence of Christ's evangel, liberties of our country, ministration of justice, and punishment of iniquity, against all enemies within this realm, or without." This

* Buik of the Universall Kirk, pp. 96—9.

† Spotswood, p. 308. Strype's Annals, vol. ii. pp. 630—1.

bond was sworn and subscribed by the king and his household, and afterwards, in consequence of an order of the Privy Council, and an act of the General Assembly, by all ranks of persons through the kingdom; the ministers having zealously promoted the subscription of it in their respective parishes *.

This solemn transaction had a powerful influence in rivetting the attachment of the people to the national religion, but it did not prevent the royal favourites from prosecuting their dangerous designs. Historians have dwelt on the arbitrary character of their administration, but pernicious as this was, it appears harmless, when compared with the malignant and too successful efforts which they made to poison the principles, and corrupt the morals of the unhappy prince who had fallen under their influence. The great object of those by whom James was now surrounded, was to eradicate the principles which his early instructors had infused into his mind, and to give him habits opposite to those which they had laboured to form. The greater part of his time was spent in pastime. The conversation to which he was accustomed was profane, loose, and mixed with low buffoonery. Monberneau, a French gentleman who had accompanied Lennox to Scotland, and who was equally distinguished by his facetious talents and his licentious manners, was the

* The subscriptions in the united parishes of Anstruther, &c. amounted to 743, and are still preserved attested by Mr William Clark, minister, and two witnesses. (Register of the Kirk-session of Anstruther.)

manager of these scenes, and accompanied the king wherever he went*. The odious and abandoned Captain Stewart (who had now obtained the title and estates of the unfortunate Earl of Arran) initiated him into youthful debauchery, and with the view of inflaming his passions, scrupled not to trample on those ties which natural affection and a sense of honour have induced the most profligate to respect†. The doctrine of absolute power, so flattering and grateful to princes, was poured into his ear. His mind was filled with prejudices against those who had preserved his life and crown during his minority. It was insinuated, that all that had been done during that period, and even since the Reformation, was obnoxious to the charge of faction and usurpation and rebellion. And he was taught, that the only way to legitimate his authority, and to procure the acknowledgement of it by foreign princes, was either to admit his mother to a share with him in the government, or else by renouncing his crown, to receive it again with her voluntary consent and parental benediction. Similar prejudices were instilled into his mind against the government and ministers of the church. The former was represented as utterly irreconcilable with a pure and absolute monarchy. And if the latter were suffered to retain their liberties, he would still be

* Strype's Annal., ii. 622. Melville's Diary, pp. 59, 60.

† Cald. MS. quoted Adamson's Muse's Threnodie, vol. ii. p. 80. Perth 1774.

a limited sovereign, and liable to be continually checked and controlled in the execution of his will *.

To the impressions which James received at this time we must trace, as their principal cause, the troubles which distracted his administration in Scotland, as well as his arbitrary and disreputable reign in England, which prepared the revolution by which his successor was overwhelmed, and led to the ultimate expulsion of the Stuarts from the throne of their ancestors.

The death of archbishop Boyd afforded the favourites an opportunity of commencing their attack on the church. Though the regulations recognizing episcopacy, which were made at Leith in 1572, had been formally abrogated by the General Assembly, and abandoned and virtually annulled by the court †, yet were they now revived by an

* Melville's Diary, p. 89. "At that time it was a pitie to sie sa weill a brought vp prince, till his bernhead was past, to be sa misorablie corrupted in the entress of his springall age; baithe wt sini trous and fals information of all proceidings in his minoritie, and wt euill and maist dangerous grundes and principalles in government of kirk and common welth," &c.

† In consequence of a supplication from the church,—"The Lords of Secret Counsell thinkis meit and advyses the Kings Matie to suspend his hienes handis on making any gift grant or promeis of the prelacies abonewritten (Aberbrothock and Paisley) or any pairt yrof, qlk may hinder and prejudge the dissolution of the same according to the forme els intendit and thocht meit to be done. And ordainit this put act to be maide heirupone ad futuram rei memoriam." Record of Privy Council, June 2. 1579.) On the 9th of May 1581, "the King's Matie with advys of the Lords of Secret Counsall," finding that the constitution of the ecclesiastical policy would not be permanent, "quhill

act of Privy Council*. The disposal of the See of Glasgow was given to Lennox, who offered it to different ministers, upon the condition of their making over to him its revenues, and contenting themselves with an annual pension. The offer was at last accepted by Robert Montgomery, minister of Stirling, "a man vain, feeble, presumptuous, and more apt, by the blemishes of his character, to have alienated the people from an order already beloved, than to reconcile them to one which was the object of their hatred†." This "vile bargain"‡, made at a time when the episcopal office stood condemned by the General Assembly, and tending directly to place the church at issue with the court, excited universal indignation. The affair being brought before the General Assembly, October 1581, the King declared his willingness that Montgomery should be proceeded against for anything that might be faulty in his life or doctrine. Upon this Melville stood forward as his accuser, and presented a libel against him, consisting of fifteen articles. Montgomery having withdrawn while the proof was taking, the As-

the auncient boundis of the diocies be dissolved, quhair the parochians ar thick togidder and small to be vneitted, and quhair thoy ar of over great and lairge boundis to be devydit, that thairefter presbiteries or eldershipes may be constitut," &c. appoints commissioners to attend to this business. (Collection of Acts of Secret Council by Sir John Hay, Clerk Register.)

* Record of Privy Council, Octob. 28. 1581.

† Dr Robertson.

‡ So Spotswood, regarding the simoniacal nature of the paction, designs it.

sembly remitted the process to the presbytery of Stirling, appointing them to report their decision to the provincial synod of Lothian, who were empowered to pronounce sentence against him, if found guilty, according to the laws of the church. And in the mean time, they prohibited him from leaving his ministry at Stirling, and intruding into the bishopric of Glasgow. This injunction he disobeyed. The ministers who composed the chapter of Glasgow were charged to elect him as their bishop, and upon their refusal, the Privy Council found that the bishopric had devolved into the hands of the king, and might be disposed of by his sole authority *. For entering on Montgomery's cause, according to the appointment of the Assembly, the members of the synod of Lothian were summoned before the Privy Council. They appeared; and Pont, in their name, after protestation of their readiness to yield all lawful obedience, declined the judgment of that court, as incompetent, according to the laws of the country, to take cognizance of a cause which was

* Bishoprick of Glasgow devolvit in the King's hands: Record of Privy Council, April 12 1582.—The royal gift, bestowing the bishopric *pleno jure*, being presented to the Lords of Session for their confirmation, the King discharged them, by letter, from admitting the commissioners of the church as a party. But the Lords passed an interlocutor (May 25.) ascertaining their right to be heard. The ministers and [illegible] part of the advocates, except David Macgill, were [illegible] advocate and Montgomery's procurator. When the cause was to be called, the Privy Council was sent for to Falkeith by the King, and a stop put to the process. Cald. iii. 109.

purely ecclesiastical*. This was done amidst the menaces and taunts of Arran, who was peculiarly exasperated at seeing the king disposed to shed tears, while one of the ministers affectionately warned him to be on his guard against wicked counsellors.

Melville was chosen moderator of the General Assembly, which met at St Andrews in April 1582. Upon their taking up Montgomery's cause, as referred to them by the presbytery of Stirling, the Master of Requests presented a letter from his Majesty, desiring the Assembly not to proceed against him for any thing connected with the bishopric of Glasgow. Soon after a messenger at arms entered the house, and charged the moderator and members of the assembly, on the pain of rebellion, to desist from the process. After serious deliberation, the assembly agreed to address a respectful letter to his Majesty; resolved that it was their duty to proceed with the trial; summoned Montgomery, who appealed to the privy council; ratified the sentence of the presbytery of Stirling, suspending him from the exercise of the ministry; and, having found eight articles of the charge against him proved, declared that he had incurred the censures of deposition and excommunication. The pronouncing of the sentence was prevented by the submission of the culprit, who appeared before the assembly, withdrew his appeal, and solemnly promised to interfere no farther with the bishopric. Though gratified with this act of submis-

* Discharge proceiding contra Mr Rot Montgomerie: Rec. of Privy Council, *die ut supra*.

sion, the assembly dreaded his tergiversation, and therefore gave instructions to the presbytery of Glasgow to watch his conduct, and provided they found that he violated his engagement, to give immediate information to the presbytery of Edinburgh, who were authorised to appoint one of their number to pronounce the sentence of excommunication against him. These precautions were not unnecessary. Urged on by his own avarice, and the importunities of Lennox, who was incensed at his designs being thwarted, the assembly was scarcely broken up, when Montgomery began to preach at court and to revive his episcopal claims. The presbytery of Glasgow having met in consequence of this, he entered the house in which they were assembled, and, accompanied by the magistrates of the city and an armed force, presented an order from the king to stop their procedure. Upon their refusal, the moderator, John Howieson, minister of Cambuslang, was pulled out of the chair by the provost, and after being struck several times with great brutality, was conveyed to prison. The students of the university, for testifying their indignation at such conduct, were dispersed by the guard, and several of them wounded. In spite of the confusion produced by this disgraceful intrusion, the presbytery continued sitting until they finished their deed, finding, that Montgomery had violated his promise and contravened the act of the General Assembly. This was transmitted to the presbytery of Edinburgh, who appointed John Davidson,

minister of Libberton, to excommunicate Montgomery. Davidson pronounced the sentence accordingly; and, although the court threatened and stormed, it was intimated on the succeeding Sabbath from the pulpits of Edinburgh and Glasgow, and all the surrounding churches *.

Lennox and Arran were enraged beyond measure at this resolute behaviour of the church-courts. A proclamation was issued by the Privy Council, declaring the excommunication of Montgomery to be null and void. Such as refused him payment of the episcopal rents were ordered to be imprisoned in the castle of Inverness †. The College of Glasgow was laid under a temporary interdict on account of the opposition made by its members to their new bishop. The ministers of Edinburgh, on account of their freedom in condemning the late measures of the court, and pointing out the favourites as the guilty advisers of them, were repeatedly called before the council and insulted; and one of them, John Dury, was banished from the capital, and discharged from preaching ‡.

Melville preached the sermon § at the opening of

* Buik of the Unniv. Kirk, ff. 114. 117.—123. Cald. MS. vol. iii. pp. 68, 74.—7, 83, 91.—112. Melville's Diary, p. 95. Spotswood, pp. 316—320.

When informed that Davidson had ventured to preach in his own church on the Sabbath subsequent to the excommunication, Lennox exclaimed, *C'est un petit Diable!*

† Record of Privy Council, July 20, 1582.

‡ Cald. iii. 105, 114.

§ His text was 1 Tim. iv. 10.

a meeting of the General Assembly, extraordinarily convened at this critical juncture. He inveighed against those who had introduced the *bludie gullie* * (as he termed it) of absolute power into the country, and who sought to erect a new popedom in the person of the prince. The pope, he said, was the first who united the ecclesiastical supremacy to the civil, which he had wrested from the emperor. Since the Reformation, he had, with the view of suppressing the gospel, delegated his absolute power to the emperor, and the kings of Spain and France; and from France, where it had produced the horrors of St Bartholomew, it was brought into this country. He mentioned the design, then on foot, of resigning the King's authority into the hands of the Queen, which had been devised eight years ago, when he was in France, and was expressed in prints containing the figure of a queen with a child kneeling at her feet and craving her blessing. And he named bishops Beaton and Lesley, as the chief managers of that affair. "This will be called meddling with civil affairs (exclaimed he); but these things tend to the wreck of religion, and therefore I rehearse them †."

As this assembly was considered as a continuation of the preceding one, Melville was appointed to retain the chair. The assembly drew up a spirited remonstrance to the King and Council, complaining of the late proceedings, and craving a redress of grievances. They complained that the

* bloody knife or sword. † Cald. iii. 113, 114.

authority of the church had been abrogated, her censures condemned and disannulled, and her ministers obstructed, maltreated, and shamefully abused in the discharge of their office; that his majesty had been persuaded, by some of his counsellors, to lay claim to a spiritual power, as if he could not be a complete king and head to the commonwealth unless he was also head of the church; and that the two jurisdictions, which God had divided, were thus confounded, benefices conferred by absolute authority, and unworthy persons intruded into the ministerial office to gratify the pleasure of men and advance their worldly interest, to the great hurt of religion, and in direct opposition to the standing laws of the land. These complaints were arranged under fourteen heads, and the assembly concluded by "beseeching his Majesty most humbly, for the love of God who had placed his Grace on his royal throne, and had hitherto wondrously maintained and defended his authority," to redress their grievances, with "the advice of men that fear God, and do tender his Grace's estate and quietness of this commonwealth." Melville was appointed, along with a number of other members, to go to Perth, where the King was then residing, and to present this remonstrance.

The favourites expressed high displeasure at hearing of this deputation, and the rumour ran that the commissioners would be massacred, if they ventured to approach the court. When they reached Perth, Sir James Melville of Halhill waited on James Melville, and besought him to persuade his

uncle not to appear, as Lennox and Arran were particularly incensed against him for the active part which he had taken in defeating their measures. When the message was brought to him, and his nephew began to urge him not to despise the friendly advice of their kinsman, Melville replied, "I am not afraid, thank God! nor feeble-spirited in the cause and message of Christ: come what God pleases to send, our commission shall be executed." Having obtained access to the King in council, the commissioners presented their remonstrance. When it had been read, Arran looking round the assembly with a threatening countenance, exclaimed, "Who dares subscribe these treasonable articles?" "WE DARE," replied Melville; and advancing to the table, took the pen from the clerk and subscribed. The other commissioners immediately followed his example. Presumptuous and daring as he was, Arran felt abashed and awed for the moment; Lennox addressed the commissioners in a mild tone; and they were peaceably dismissed. Certain Englishmen, who happened to be present, expressed their astonishment at the bold carriage of the ministers, and could scarcely be persuaded that they had not an armed force at hand to support them. They *might* be surprized; for, more than forty years elapsed after that period, before any of their countrymen were able to meet the frown of an arbitrary court with such firmness and intrepidity *.

* Buik of the Univ. Kirk, ff. 125—127. Melville's Diary, p. 96. Cald. MS. vol. iii. pp. 123—9. Petrie, part 3, p. 431.

In all these contendings, the ministers had no countenance or support from any of the nobility. They acted solely upon their own convictions of duty, and were not animated by the prospect of external protection from the rage of those whom they offended. There is no evidence of their having been concerned in the confederacy which led to a change in the administration of the country. But, on the other hand, it is evident that their resistance contributed greatly to check the career of the favourites, and roused the nation to assert their liberties so ignominiously trampled on by unworthy minions and insolent strangers. Had they acted in as passive a manner as the nobility had hitherto done, a despotism might have been established in the country, which nothing short of a national convulsion could have overturned. The resistance which they made to the arbitrary measures of the court was perfectly defensible and legal. While they kept within the strict line of ecclesiastical business, their procedure was authorized by law. They were entitled to disregard the prohibitory mandates which were issued, and to hold them as forged, as surreptitiously obtained, or illegally granted by corrupt courtiers, who attempted to supersede the statutes of the realm, and to stop the established course of justice. And they had a right to employ, in defence of their liberties, those censures which were competent to them, and which in this light had been solemnly sanctioned and repeatedly recognized by acts of the legislature. At the same time their resistance was

tempered by a becoming respect for authority, and a due regard to public peace. They supplicated, represented, remonstrated. No tumult was excited by them. And although pulpits were forced, and church-courts violated, and ministers assaulted, they never attempted to raise the populace, or, according to a practice common at that time, to arm their friends in their defence.

The haughtiness, rapacity, and arbitrary measures of the favourites at length exhausted the patience of the nobles, who resolved to free themselves and the country from a disgraceful servitude. The course which they took to accomplish this was very different from the open and regular resistance of the assemblies of the church. A combination having been secretly formed among the principal barons, they got possession of the King's person by surprize, compelled Lennox to leave the kingdom, and Arran to confine himself to one of his own houses, and took upon themselves the direction of public affairs. By this enterprize, known by the name of the *Raid of Ruthven*, the church was restored to her liberty, and enjoyed a temporary calm. Nothing can be a clearer proof of the haughtiness with which Lennox had used his power, and the dangerous influence which he was understood to possess over the royal mind, than the inexorable manner in which the confederated lords insisted on his quitting the country, contrasted with their conduct to Arran, whose personal character and private manners were incomparably more hateful and de-

tested. If they were really actuated by any favour for the latter, or, which is the more probable supposition, if they imagined that the detestation felt at his vices would prevent him from ever regaining his former influence, they were soon undeceived, and smarted severely for their criminal partiality or impolitic forbearance.

Soon after this change of administration, John Winram, sub-prior of the abbey of St Andrews, and superintendent of Fife, died at an advanced age *. Though inclined to the reformed sentiments at an early period, he had retained his situation in the popish church until its overthrow. His timidity and temporizing conduct were often blamed by the protestants, and afforded topics of invective against him to the Roman Catholics, when he at last deserted their communion. He appears to have been a man of amiable dispositions and of considerable learning †.

* John Johnston, in his verses to the memory of Winram, says, that he died on the 28th September 1581. (Life of John Knox, ii. 443.) But that September 18. 1582 is the true date, appears from a decreet of the Lords of Session, against the tenants of Portmoak, Nov. 24. 1582,—"the Priory of St Servan be within the Loch of Levin, otherwise called Portmoak—vacand be demission of the same be umqll Mr John Wynram, last Prior—and albeit it be of veritie that the said Mr John departit this mortal life upon the xviii of Sept' last," &c. The Priory of Portmoak having been resigned by him, was given to the College of St Leonard's in 1580. (Register of Presentations to Benefices, vol. ii. f. 37.)

† Life of John Knox, i. 31, ii. 443. Nicol Burne's Disputation: *Admonition to the Ministers.*—In the Records of the

At this time too the country was deprived of its greatest literary ornament, by the death of Buchanan. The splendour of his talents is universally acknowledged, and his political sentiments and moral character have found able advocates. But he deserves also to live in the memory of his countrymen as a sincere and zealous friend to the principles of the reformation. He had not concealed his partiality to this cause when he was abroad *, and after his return to his native country, he gave it his uniform and most decided support †. Melville appears to have

university of St Andrews he is designed "Sacrarum literarum professor eximius." I was formerly disposed to suspect, that the Catechism which Bale ascribes to Winram, under the name of *Wouram* or *Wyrem*, was the same with Archbishop Hamilton's (Life of Knox, i. 411.) But in a list of books belonging to the university of St Andrews, taken in the year 1599, are the two following separate entries:

"Catechismus D. J. Winram Supprior.
Catechismus Jo. Hamilton Epi."

The superintendent was of the family of Rathow, and married Margaret Stewart, Lady Kinawdy, (relict of —— Ayton of Kinawdy) who died March 1573. (Act Boik of the Commissariot of St Andrews; May 1. and Oct. 18. 1574.)

* Languetti Epistolæ, lib. ii. ep. 37.

† Dr Irving says, "The extravagances of John Knox, have received no splendid encomiums from the historical pen of Buchanan. He was too enlightened to applaud the fierce spirit of intoleration in men who had themselves tasted the bitterness of persecution." (Memoirs of Buchanan, p. 316. 2nd. edit.) The Doctor appears to have overlooked the fact, that some of the strongest measures to which he affixes the character of "intoleration," were approved by an assembly of which Buchanan was not only a member, but also *the moderator*. Buchanan's usual way is to pronounce his encomiums on individuals when he records their death, and his history does not reach the death of Knox.

enjoyed a large share of his friendship and confidence; and the last interview between them, presents us with some of the most interesting traits in the character of the most original writer that ever Scotland produced *.

While Melville was engaged in this contest in behalf of the liberties of the church, he found him-

* "That September, in tyme of vacans, my vncle Mr Andro, Mr Thomas Buchanan, and I heiring y^t Mr George Buchanā was weak and his historie under ye press, past ower to Edin^r. annes earend to visit him and sie the wark. When we cam to his chalmer we fand him sitting in his chaire teatching his young man y^t servit him in his chalmer to spell a, b, ab; e, b, eb; &c. efter salutation Mr Andro sayes, I sie, sir, yie ar no^t ydle. better this quoth he nor stelling sheipe, or sitting ydle quhilk is als ill. y^r efter he shew vs the espistle dedicatorie to the king; the quhilk when Mr Andro had read, he tauld him y^t it was obscure in sum places and wanted certean words to perfyt the sentence. Sayes he, I may do na mair for thinking on a nother mater. What is that, sayes Mr Andro, to die quoth he: bot I leave y^e and wanie na things to you to helpe. (He was telling him also of Blakwoods answer to his buik de iure regni.) We went from him to the printers wark hous, whom we faud at the end of the 17 buik of his Chronicle, at a place quhilk we thought verie hard for the tyme, quhilk might be an occasion of steying the haill work, anent the burial of Davie. Therfor steying the printer from proceiding we cam to Mr George again and fand him bedfast by [contrary to] his custome, and asking him whow he did, Even going the way of weilfare sayes he. Mr Thomas his cusing schawes him of the hardnes of that part of his storie, y^t the king wald be offendit w^t it and it might stey all the wark. tell me man sayes he gif I have tauld the treuthe. yis sayes Mr Thomas sir I think sa. I will byd his feud and all his kin's then q^th he, pray, pray to God for me and let him direct all. Sa be the printing of his Cronicle was endit ye maist lerned wyse and godlie man endit this mortal lyfe." Melville's Diary, p. 90

self also involved in the performance of extraordinary duty at St Andrews. Archbishop Adamson had begun to officiate as a preacher in the town, but as he was sometimes absent, and at other times did not feel himself disposed for such public appearances, Melville was often prevailed on, at his request, to occupy his place in the pulpit. On the death of Hamilton, the kirk-session petitioned for his services, and during the vacancy of their parish, the public duties of the Sabbath were divided between him and his nephew, James Melville*. He was extremely anxious that they should fix on an individual properly qualified for discharging the pastoral duties among them, and one who would be useful in his station to the university. His exertions in forwarding this object were not spontaneous on his part, but made at the express appointment of the General Assembly, and at the particular request of the kirk-session of St Andrews†. The individual first chosen was the celebrated Robert Pont. He appears to have been a native of St Andrews, had held the office of elder in that congregation for some time after the reformation, and was at present minister of St Cuthbert's Church, and provost of Trinity College, Edinburgh‡. In compliance with the invitation now given

* Melville's Diary, p. 66.

† Register of Kirk-session of St Andrews, Dec. 6. and 20. 1581, and May 9. 1582. Buik of Univ. Kirk, f. 134, a.

‡ "Mr Robert Pont" signs, among the elders, a deed of the session, March 20. 1560, and another May 14. 1561.

him, Pont came to St Andrews, and officiated as minister to the congregation for nearly twelve months, but being unable to procure a stipend, left it with the consent of the General Assembly *. This occurrence, with the cause in which it originated, was the occasion of much uneasiness to Melville. The late minister of the town had, during the latter part of his life, grown remiss in the discharge of his pastoral functions, and allowed the ecclesiastical discipline to fall in a great measure into disuse. The consequence was, that some of the principal inhabitants had no desire to obtain an active and conscientious minister, and would have been much better pleased with a person of mean gifts, provided only he would allow them to live at peace, as they termed it, and not disturb them with reproofs from the pulpit, or with sessional prosecutions. The prior and pensioners of the abbey availed themselves of this feeling, and, with the connivance of the magistrates of the city, retained the funds

(Record of Kirk session of St Andrews.) I understand him to be the person called "Mr Robert Kynpont," who was one of the commissioners from St Andrews to the General Assembly 1560, and whom the assembly declared qualified "for ministring and teaching." (Keith, Hist. 498.) "Maister Robert Pont commissioner of the superintendentrie of Murray," was presented to "the personage and vicarage of the parish kirk of Birnie, in the diocie of Murray." Jan. 13. 1567. (Reg. of Present. to Benefices, vol. i. f. 2.) He was presented to "the vicarage of St Cuthbert's kirk, vacand be the decease of Wm Hairlaw," Dec. 29. 1578. (Reg. of Privy Seal, vol. 45, f. 97.) He was made provost of Trinity College, Jan. 27. 1571, and resigned this office, June 23. 1585. (Reg. of Present. vols. i. ii.)

* Buik of the Univ. Kirk, f. 134, a.

destined for the minister's support in their own hands, and spent it in pastime and luxury. Finding that their services were made an excuse for delaying the settlement of a regular minister, Melville and his nephew resolved to discontinue them. The presbytery, on being informed of this, issued orders for the speedy filling up of the vacant charge. This injunction, with the reprimand with which it was accompanied, gave great offence; and two of the baillies caused the precentor to read to the congregation a paper, drawn up in the name of the prior, and containing the most disrespectful reflections on the presbytery; for which they were brought before the General Assembly, and enjoined to make public satisfaction *. Smeton and Arbuthnot, the principals of the universities of Glasgow and Aberdeen, were afterwards successively chosen ministers of St Andrews; and so sensible were the General Assembly of the importance of having that town provided with an able pastor, that they agreed to the translation. But the King, influenced, as was supposed, by the prior, prohibited it in both instances, on the ground of its being injurious to the universities †. By these means, that extensive parish was kept vacant during upwards of three years ‡.

In these circumstances, the services which Melville performed gratuitously, though acceptable to the great body of the people, exposed him to ill-

* Buik of Univ. Kirk. ff. 132, b. 134, a.

† See Note B B.

‡ Records of Kirk-session of St Andrews.

will and abuse on the part of not a few. As long as he continued to preach, it was impossible for him to refrain from condemning the conduct of those who obstructed the settlement of the parish. The umbrage taken at this was increased by the severity with which he rebuked the more flagrant vices which prevailed among the inhabitants, and were overlooked by those in authority. Galled by his reproofs, the provost one day rose from his seat in the middle of the sermon, and left the church, muttering his dissatisfaction with the preacher. Placards were affixed to the new college-gate, threatening to set fire to the principal's lodging, to bastinade him, and to chase him out of the town. While his friends were alarmed for his safety, he remained unintimidated, and refused to yield in the slightest degree to the violence of his adversaries. He summoned the provost before the presbytery for contempt of divine ordinances. He persevered in his public censures of vice. One of the placards was known, by the French and Italian phrases in it, to be the production of James Learmont younger of Balcomy. This Melville produced to the congregation, at the end of a sermon in which he had been uncommonly free and vehement, and described the author of it, who was sitting before him, as "a Frenchified, Italianized, joly gentleman, who had polluted many marriage-beds, and now boasted that he would pollute the church of God by bastinading his servants." He silenced his adversaries at this time, but they soon found an opportunity of

revenging themselves for the freedoms which he had taken with them *.

At this time, Alexander Arbuthnot, principal of the university of Aberdeen, departed this life †. He was followed, in the course of a few months, by Thomas Smeton, principal of the university of Glasgow ‡. Melville deplored their death in strains

* Melville's Diary p. 93.

† He died, unmarried, on the 16th of October 1583, in the 45th year of his age. Cald iii. 282. Spotswood, 335. Kennedy's Annals of Aberdeen, ii. 372—3. On the 15th of July 1568, he received a presentation to "the personage and vicarage of logy callit logy-buchane—ane of the comonn kirks of the cathedral kirk of Aberdeen." His presentation to the office of Principal of the King's College, is dated July 3. 1569. (Reg. of Present. to Benefices, vol. i ff. 14, 26.) On the 25th July 1569, he was presented to "the personage and vicarage of Arbuthnot callit ane prebendarie of the kirk of heuch of sanctandrois &c Provyding &c and administrat the sacramentis of Jesus Chryst. Or ellis travell in sum vther als necessar vocatoun to the utilitie of the kirk and approvit be the samyn," &c. (Ib. f. 27.) Dec. 3. 1583, Mr Robt Arbuthnett, was presented to "the personage, &c. of Arbuthnet,—vaikand be deceis of vmqll Mr Alex^r Arbuthnett." (Ib. vol. ii. f. 93.)

‡ He died on the 13th of December 1583, in the 47th year of his age. Cald. iii. 299. Spotswood, 336. Smeton was married, (Melville's Diary, 53.) and Thomas Smeton made A. M. at Glasgow in 1604, was probably his son. Besides the answer to Hamilton, Smeton was concerned in another work, of which the only account I can give is contained in the following extracts. "Ane method of preaching to be printed and put in Scots be Mr Thos Smetoun. (Buik of Universall Kirk, f. 112, a.) April 1581. "Anent the printing the method of preaching and prophesieing set out be and shewed and read in the Assembly, the Assemblie hath thoght meet that the samine may be committit to Irons, and printed as necessary for the forme of teaching, and to be put in Scottish be their

which were honourable to him as a friend and a patriot *. The removal of two such learned and highly respected men, was universally bewailed as an irreparable loss, and, occurring at a critical period, was looked on as a prognostication of approaching calamity.

Notwithstanding what his majesty thought proper to profess to the commissioners of the church and to foreign ambassadors, it soon appeared that he felt a rooted aversion to the Ruthven Lords. In the end of June 1583, he suddenly withdrew from them, and having shut himself up in the castle of St Andrews, issued a proclamation condemning the enterprize of Ruthven, and declaring that, since that period, he had been kept in a state of restraint and captivity. At first he promised to pardon the offence which he had received, and to govern by the common advice of his nobility. But the mask of moderation was soon thrown off. Arran was again received at court, recovered his former influence, and renewed his tyrannical career with a fury increased by the recollection of his recent disgrace. This change portended a storm to the church, and it was not long before it burst on the heads of her principal ministers.

In the mean time all those who were concerned in seizing the King's person at Ruthven were de-

brother Mr Thomas Smetone." (Cald. iii. 43.)—The author's name does not appear.—"Hyperius de formandis concionibus" was printed at Basil in 1563. "Hyperius Practice of Preaching," translated into English by Ludham, was printed in 1577.

* Delitiæ Poet. Scot. ii. 120—1.

clared traitors, and having refused to deliver themselves up, were ordered to be pursued as fugitives from justice. The caution which the ministers of the church had used in approving of that enterprize, prevented the court from taking any hasty measures against them as a body *. But Arran placed spies about the principal individuals among them, with instructions to inform him if they uttered any thing from the pulpit derogatory to his proceedings †.

Soon after the King came to St Andrews, and before Arran had been re-admitted to his presence, Melville received a visit from Sir Robert Melville, one of the new courtiers. Sir Robert informed him that some of his ill-wishers had been busy in prepossessing the royal mind against him, and advised him as a kinsman, to embrace the first opportunity

* The approbation which the General Assembly gave to the Raid of Ruthven, or rather to what was done in consequence of it, was very guarded. They consulted with his majesty before they took that step, and it required all James's king-craft to gloss over this fact, when it was appealed to by the English ambassador. Buik of Univ. Kirk, ff. 128, b. 129. Cald. iii. 261.

In a petition presented by this assembly are the following articles: "That his Maitie and Lords will wey quhat great inconvenients and absurdities falls furth vpon the act of counsell made concerning absolute power, and for removing y^t of to delate ye same nevir to be rememberit heirafter."—"That it will please your Ma. and Lo. to have pitie and compassion on y^t noble and godly man, James Hamilton, Erle of Arran, sometyme a noble and comfortable instrument in reforming ye kirk of God, and now visit be ye hand of God, and under pretense of law bereft." Buik of Univ. Kirk, f. 131, b. It is much to the honour of the assembly that they had presented a similar petition in behalf of the last named individual during the administration of Lennox. Ibid. p. 98.

† Wodrow's Life of Galloway, p. 6. MSS. vol. 2.

of waiting on his Majesty, and clearing himself from calumny. Melville thanked his friend for this mark of kindness, but excused himself from complying with his advice. If his Majesty wished his opinion on any thing relating to the church or commonwealth, or if he required his attendance to explain or answer for any part of his conduct, he was ready, he said, to obey the royal commands with all humility and reverence. But he was certain, that no man could justly charge him with having failed in the duty of a subject, and he would not take a step which implied a consciousness of guilt, and would make him an indirect accuser of himself to his sovereign *.

On Saturday the 15th of February 1584, Melville received a charge to appear before the privy council at Edinburgh on the Monday following, to answer for seditious and treasonable speeches uttered by him in his sermon and prayers on a fast which had been kept during the preceding month. Conscious of his innocence, he felt no hesitation on his own account in resolving to appear. His only concern was to know how he should conduct himself, so as not to prejudge the rights of the church and the liberty of the pulpit, which the court sought to infringe by its present mode of procedure. On this important point he had little time to deliberate, or to take the advice of his brethren. The university gave him an ample attestation, in

* Melville's Diary, p. 10.

which they declared their conviction that the accusation was false and calumnious; that they had been constant attendants on his doctrine, and had never heard any thing proceed from his mouth that was derogatory to his Majesty's government; and that, whenever he had occasion to touch on that subject, in doctrine, in application, or in prayers, he had always spoken reverently of his Majesty, and exhorted his hearers to yield obedience to him, and to the meanest magistrate who possessed authority under him *. Similar testimonials were given him by the town-council, the kirk-session, and the presbytery, of St Andrews.

When he appeared before the privy council, he, with the utmost readiness, gave an account of the sermon on which he was accused, for the satisfaction of his Majesty and their lordships. He had preached, he said, on the words with which Daniel reminded Belshazzar of the history of his father Nebuchadnezzar; and he deduced from them this general doctrine, "That it is the duty of ministers to apply examples of divine mercy and judgment in all ages, to kings, princes, and people; and that the nearer the persons are to us the more applicable is the example." On this part of his subject he had said, "But if, now a dayes, a minister would rehearse the example that fell out in king James the third's dayes, who was abused by the flattery of his courtiers, he should be said to vaige † from his text, and per

* See Note CC † wander.

chance be accused of treason." He denied that he had said, as he was accused, "that our Nebuchadnezzar (meaning the king's mother) was twice seven years banished, and would be restored again;" and affirmed that such a thought never came into his mind. He solemnly protested that neither in that sermon, nor in any other, had he used the words, falsely imputed to him, "The King is unlawfully promoted to the crown," nor any expression savouring of such a sentiment. Indeed, it was notorious, that the lawfulness of his Majesty's authority had all along been strenuously maintained by the church; and he could appeal to all with whom he had conversed, if he had not exerted himself to establish it in all his discourses and reasonings, both publicly and privately. What he had laid down, as founded upon his text, was, that whether kings are raised to their thrones by election, by succession, or by any other ordinary means, they owe their exaltation to God, a truth which, from the infirmity of human nature, is easily forgotten by them. And having confirmed this fact from the history of the good kings mentioned in Scripture, instead of making any application of it, he offered up a prayer, (as he was accustomed to do whenever he spoke of his Majesty) beseeching God of his grace not to suffer our King to forget the divine goodness displayed in raising him extraordinarily to the throne of this country, when he was a child in the cradle, his mother yet alive, and a great part of the nobility his enemies, and in preserving him since the burden of govern-

ment was laid on his own shoulders. Melville concluded his statement by assuring the council that he had given, as nearly as he could recollect, the very words which he had spoken from the pulpit, and by entreating his Majesty, and their lordships not to listen to the misinformations of those who wrested his words from malice, or who were so grossly ignorant as not to be able to distinguish between an *extraordinary* and an *unlawful* calling. He at the same time produced the public attestations of his innocence which he had brought along with him.

Instead of resting satisfied with the explanation and testimonials, the council resolved to proceed with the trial, upon which he stated the following objections, in the form of request. He requested, first, that, as he was accused upon certain expressions alleged to have been used by him in preaching and prayer, his trial should be remitted, in the first instance, to the ecclesiastical courts, as the ordinary judges of his ministerial conduct, according to Scripture, the laws of the kingdom, and an agreement made between certain commissioners of the privy council and of the church. Secondly, that he should be tried at St Andrews, where the alleged offence was committed. Thirdly, that, if his first request was not granted, he should at least enjoy the privilege of the university of which he was a member, by having his cause submitted, in the first instance, to the judgment of the rector and his assessors. Fourthly, that he should enjoy the benefit of the apostolical canon, "against an elder receive not an accusation but before two or three witnesses." Fifthly,

that he should have the benefit of a free subject by being made acquainted with his accuser, and that the individual who appeared in that character should, if the charge turned out to be false and calumnious, be liable to the punishment prescribed by the statutes against those who seek to alienate the king from his faithful subjects. In fine, he protested that if *William Stewart** was the informer, he had just ground to except against him, both as an accuser and as a witness, inasmuch as he entertained a deadly malice against him, and had frequently threatened to do him bodily harm if it was in his power. When he had stated these objections, the council adjourned the farther consideration of the cause to the following day.

In the interval, Melville, after consulting with his brethren, drew up, in the form of a protest, the objections which he had already stated verbally against the council's proceeding in the trial. Next day commissioners from the presbytery and from the university of St Andrews attended, the former to protest for the liberty of the church, and the latter to re-pledge Melville to the court of the rector. But they were refused admission; and Melville, finding that the council were determined to proceed, gave in his protest †. The reading of this paper,

* Stewart was one of the pensioners of the Abbey of St Andrews, and had conceived hatred against Melville on account of his activity in procuring a minister for that town. His conduct on the present occasion procured him at St Andrews the common name of *the Accuser*.

† This protest, or declinature, as it is usually called, may be

though expressed in the most temperate and respectful language, threw the King and Arran into so violent a rage, that their threatenings disturbed the privy council, and spread an alarm among those who were without, and anxiously waited the issue of the trial. This violence roused Melville's spirit. He resolutely defended the step which he had taken, and told the counsellors, that, when there was a constituted church in the country, they shewed themselves too bold in passing by its teachers, and assuming a right to pronounce sentence on the doctrine, and control the administrations of the servants of a King and Council greater than themselves: "And that ye may see your weakness and rashness in taking upon you what ye neither can nor ought to do, (unclasping his Hebrew Bible from his girdle, and throwing it on the table, he said,) *These* are my instructions: see if any of you can judge of them, or shew that I have passed my injunctions." Arran took up the book, and perceiving it to be written in a strange language, gave it to the King, saying; "Sir, he scorns your Majesty and the council."— "No, my lords; (replied Melville) I scorn not; but with all earnestness, zeal, and gravity, I stand for the cause of Jesus Christ and his church." He was several times removed, but not allowed to have any intercourse with his brethren. Intreaty and menace were alternately used to induce him to withdraw

seen at large in the printed Calderwood, pp. 144—146. Comp. Hume of Godscroft Hist. of the House of Douglas and Angus, ii. 309—313.

his protest, but he refused to do it unless his cause were remitted to the proper judges. At last Stewart was brought forward as accuser, and the deposition of a number of witnesses taken. But although most of them were his known mislikers, nothing could be extracted from their evidence that tended to criminate him. Notwithstanding this, he was found guilty of declining the judgment of the council, and behaving irreverently before them; and was condemned to be imprisoned in the castle of Edinburgh, and to be further punished in his person and goods at his Majesty's pleasure *.

His friends were greatly perplexed as to the course which they should now advise him to take. On the one hand, they were averse to deprive the church and schools of his services by advising him to leave the kingdom, and they were not without hopes that they would be able to procure his liberation after a short imprisonment. On the other hand, a temporary intermission of his labours was not to be put in balance with the safety of his life; and the fury with which Arran conducted himself justified the strongest apprehensions. It was judged proper that he should keep himself concealed in the capital, while his nephew sounded the courtiers, and tried to ascertain the treatment which he was likely to receive. From some of them, James Melville received favourable assurances, but those on whom he could place more dependance, repeated the

* See Note C C.

proverb of the house of Angus, "loose and living," and signified, that if his uncle surrendered his liberty he would not come out of prison except to the scaffold. This was corroborated by information that the place of his confinement was changed from the castle of Edinburgh to that of Blackness, a solitary and unwholesome dungeon kept by a creature of Arran's *. As soon as he heard this, Melville decided upon the course which he would take, but without imparting his resolution to his friends. He came from his concealment, and made as if he intended to obey the sentence of the privy council. He dined in Lawson's house with the ministers who were in town, and was the most cheerful person in the company; mingling more than his usual portion of hilarity with the graver conversation of the table, drinking the health of his captain, as he called the keeper of Blackness, and desiring his brethren to prepare to follow him. The macer being announced, he requested that he should be brought in: and received, with all respect, the charge to enter himself a prisoner within twenty-four hours. A little after this, he left the company, and being joined by his brother Roger, retired from Edinburgh, passed the night in the neighbourhood, and next day reached Berwick in safety; to the mortification

* John Davidson, in his answer to Allain, says that several of the lords, when requested to subscribe the sentence as altered by Arran, refused, and said, that, to please his Majesty, they had yielded too far in agreeing to it in its original form. Cald. ii. 348.

of Arran who had a company of horsemen prepared to conduct him to Blackness *.

The court incurred great odium by its severe treatment of Melville. The ministers of Edinburgh prayed for him in public, and the universal lament was, that the King, under the influence of evil counsel, had driven into exile the most learned man in the kingdom, and the ablest champion of religion and the liberties of the church. To counteract this impression the privy council issued a proclamation, declaring that his exile was voluntary, and disclaiming any intention of using him rigorously †. Little credit was given to this representation, which was contradicted by an act of council made after Melville's flight, and ordaining that such preachers as were accused, should henceforth be apprehended without the formality of a legal charge ‡.

Had the affair which we have now related been a detached and insolated occurrence, it might have been passed over without enquiring narrowly, whether the issue to which it was brought was more owing to the imprudence of the person accused, or to the violent and arbitrary procedure of his judges. But,

* Cald. iii. 304—314. Melville's Diary, pp. 102—104. Spotswood, 330. Hume, Hist. of the House of Douglas and Angus, ii. 308.—Hume says that Melville published his Apology, or the Declinature which he had given in to the privy council.

† A Declaration to som reportis maid anent Mr Andro Melville: Record of privy council, ult. Febr. 1583.

‡ Galloway's Apology for his flight, in Wodrow's Life of Mr Patrick Galloway, p. 6. MSS. in Bibl. Coll. Glas. vol. ii.

it is only one of many cases which occurred, and involves the great question which was so keenly agitated between the court and the church during the whole of this reign. On this account, and to prevent future repetition, I shall in this place make a few observations on a subject which has been much misunderstood and misrepresented.

It is needless to contend about words. I shall therefore allow that the instrument which Melville gave in to the privy council, on his trial, was a material *declinature*; although he did not make use of that term, and, it is probable, avoided it intentionally, that he might not give unnecessary umbrage, or afford a handle to those who sought advantage against him and the cause which he maintained. But, it would argue a very slender acquaintance with the subject to infer from this, that he disowned the authority, or called in question the jurisdiction of the king and his council. The most that it could imply was, that the privy council was not the proper court for trying the accusation brought against him; and we shall afterwards shew that it did not imply so much. Every lawful judicature is not entitled to judge in every cause, and a party has a right to take legal steps for having his cause brought before the competent judges. Even in that age, when the boundaries of the different jurisdictions were far from being accurately traced, it was not uncommon for persons to decline the judgment of the privy council, and to advocate their

cause to the Lords of Session *. They were not on that account thought to be guilty of treason, nor charged with impeaching the royal authority; and the assemblies of the church were judicatories acknowledged by law as much as any civil or criminal court in the country.

It is equally unreasonable and unjust to identify the plea advanced by Melville, with the claim which the popish clergy made to immunity from the civil jurisdiction †. Not to mention that, in the latter case, the ultimate decision might be given by a foreign power, in consequence of a reference or appeal to the court of Rome, the popish clergy claimed, and actually obtained, an exemption from civil jurisdiction as to all crimes, of whatever kind they might be, and on whatever occasion they might be committed—murders, adulteries, thefts, secret conspiracies, and open appearances in arms against the state. The plea of the presbyterian ministers was limited entirely to the exercise of their pastoral functions. To represent these claims as the same, is

* "T. Esteem ye that light for a subject to decline his prince's judgment? Z. Is that any new thing? Falls not that forth almost every day before the Secret Counsel? Declined not Mr John Cramound, within 20 days after Mr Andrew's dyet, the King and Counsell as judges competent for the exhibition of the heretrix of Badnavill, and he was never quarrelled as a decliner of the Kings M. authority. That is a form common enough before any judges." Dialogue between Zelator, Tenporizer, and Palæmon, apud Cald. iii. 678.

† This has been done, in very unqualified terms, by Dr Robertson. Hist. of Scotland, vol. ii. p. 425. Lond. 1809.

as absurd as it would be to confound the protection granted to worshipping assemblies by every civilized nation, with that privilege which formerly rendered religious houses, and their consecrated appendages, so many sanctuaries for all kinds of malefactors. Nor did presbyterians plead that the ecclesiastical courts were the *sole* judges of doctrine delivered from the pulpit*, or that it belonged to them to judge of treason. If they had done so, and if they had at the same time contended that the mere acquittal of a preacher by the church-courts barred the civil magistrate from proceeding against him for the crime of treason, then I acknowledge that the charge brought against them would to a certain extent be well founded, and that their claims deserved to have been resisted. But such was not the nature of their plea. All that they insisted for was, that when a minister was accused of exceeding the proper bounds of his office, and of teaching from the pulpit what tended to the hurt of the state or the dishonour of magistrates, instead of being immediately dragged before a civil tribunal, the accusation

* Dr Robertson represents Melville as contending that "the presbytery of which he was a member had *the sole right* to call him to account for words spoken in the pulpit;" and yet he allows, in the same sentence, that his plea amounted only to this, that "neither the King nor council could judge, *in the first instance*, of the doctrine delivered by preachers." If this plea had been admitted, he says, "the protestant clergy would have been independent on the civil magistrate," and might have taught, "*without fear or control*, the most dangerous principles," &c. History, ut supra.

against him should be brought, *in the first instance*, before those courts which had the direct oversight of his pastoral conduct. If they should find the accusation well-founded, it was incumbent on them to censure him for a violation of his ministerial duty, and to leave him to the judgment of the proper court for any civil offence which he might have committed. Or if they, through the influence of undue partiality, should justify him erroneously, it was still competent for the civil magistrate to proceed against him in the exercise of that authority which the antecedent judgment of the church could neither supersede nor invalidate *.

Such was the full amount of the claim made by the church at this time, and if candidly examined it will not be found so extravagant, or so unreasonable, as has been alleged. When accused of uttering seditious or treasonable language from the pulpit, a preacher was charged with a double offence, which rendered him amenable to a double jurisdiction. He was amenable to the church for the transgression of his official duty, and to the state for violat-

* "The question was not (says Principal Baillie) Whether ministers be exempt from the magistrate's jurisdiction, nor, Whether the pulpit puts men in a liberty to teach treason without any civill cognizance and punishment. Since the Reformation of religion no man in Scotland did ever assert such things. But the question was, as Spotswood himselfe states it, Whether the Counsell was a competent judge to Master Melville's doctrine *in prima instantia*: these were the expresse tearmes." Answer to the Declaration, p. 12; subjoined to Historical Vindication, Lond. 1646.

ing his duty as a subject. The only question was as to the order in which the cause should come to be tried, and the tribunal before which he should be primarily called to appear. *Some* arrangement behoved to be made as to this; and where there was a constituted church, whose judicatories were recognized by the state, it seems, on several grounds, most proper and expedient that the individual accused should, in the first instance, be made accountable to them. Though a subject, it was when acting in the character of a public minister of the church that he incurred the charge brought against him. He could not offend against the state, or against any individual, without first transgressing his duty as a preacher of the gospel. By this arrangement, the state might be saved from much disagreeable and unnecessary business, either in the way of its appearing, from the investigation before the ecclesiastical courts, that the charge was completely groundless; or, if it turned out otherwise, in the way of their sentence leading to what might be justly regarded as a sufficient reparation of the offence, and a prevention of its future recurrence; in both which cases, the necessity of a legal prosecution would be happily superseded. This arrangement would also have the effect of preventing ministers from being harrassed by espionage on the part of the government, or by malicious informations of individuals offended at their faithfulness in the reproof of sin or in the exercise of discipline. All these objects would be gained, while at the same

time, the civil courts retained their authority entire and unimpaired. I need scarcely add, that the regulation in question was never intended to apply to extraordinary cases; and that no such immunity was pleaded as would prevent the executive government from immediate procedure against a minister who should be notoriously guilty of exciting sedition or treason by his preaching, or who should even be suspected of this, in a time of public commotion or national alarm.

It may be alleged, that this arrangement would produce collision between the two authorities. But how could this be prevented altogether, in the supposed case, without abolishing the jurisdiction and discipline of the church? If it should be said, that the previous judgment of the ecclesiastical court would impose a restraint on the proceedings of the civil, I grant that it would to a certain extent. But then I maintain that this would prove upon the whole a salutary check, and that its tendency would be to discourage the court from indulging in arbitrary and vindictive prosecutions. What is it but the restraint of opinion on coercive authority—the great safeguard of the weak against the oppressions of the powerful? It is proper to guard against the licence of the pulpit; but it is equally proper to provide against encroachments on its due liberty. This is an object of great importance, whether it be viewed in relation to the nature and immediate ends of the pastoral office, or to the indirect influence which it is calculated to have upon public opinion and the na-

tional weal. Those who speak in Heaven's name to men, and whose duty it is to declare the whole counsel of God—to inculcate the observance of the divine law in all its extent—to reprove irreligion and vice, injustice and oppression, wherever they appear, and by whomsoever committed—to warn of approaching judgments and impending dangers—to call all to repentance and reformation of life—and to watch for souls as those who must give an account—are entitled to use, and ought to be protected in the exercise of, more than ordinary liberty of speech. If they are fettered by injunctions, and awed by prosecutions and penalties —if they dare select no subject, advance no sentiment, employ no expression, but what is agreeable to men in power, and smoothed down so as not to grate the delicate ears of courtiers—if they are prohibited from applying the examples of Scripture, and improving the events of Providence, to the instruction and admonition of their hearers—and, in fine, if they are not allowed to exhort, reprove, rebuke, with all authority, they cease to be the servants of Christ, and become faithless and unprofitable to their people. Nor is the conservation of this privilege (for why should not the pulpit have its privileges as well as the senate, the bench, and the academical chair?) of less importance in a national and political point of view. Despotism has rarely been established in any nation without the subserviency of the ministers of religion. And it nearly concerns the cause of public liberty, that those who ought to be the common instructors and

the faithful and fearless monitors of all classes, should not be converted into the trained sycophants of a corrupt, or the trembling slaves of a tyrannical administration.

At the period of which we speak, the pulpit was, in fact, the only organ by which public opinion was or could be expressed; and the ecclesiastical courts were the only assemblies in the nation which possessed any thing that was entitled to the name of liberty or independence. Parliament had its business prepared to its hand, and laid before it in the shape of acts which required only its assent. Discussion and freedom of speech were unknown in its meetings. The courts of justice were dependent on the will of the sovereign, and frequently had their proceedings regulated and their decisions dictated by letters or messages from the throne. It was the preachers who first taught the people to express an opinion on the conduct of their rulers; and the assemblies of the church set the earliest example of a regular and firm opposition to the arbitrary and unconstitutional measures of the court. This is a fact which has been strangely overlooked by most modern writers, who, instead of presenting accurate and liberal views of the state of society at that period, have too often amused their readers by pointing sarcasms, or turning elegant periods, on the arrogant pretensions and dangerous encroachments of a presbyterian hierarchy.

The truth is, that the nation at large was interested in the question respecting the independence

of the ecclesiastical courts; and every enlightened friend of justice and freedom at that time must have wished success to the struggle which the preachers were making in defence of their privileges. The powers of the privy council of Scotland appear to have been very undefined, their mode of procedure summary, and their decisions frequently of the most arbitrary and despotical kind. It would not be a difficult task, in my opinion, to extract from their records a series of proceedings, in which they not only interfered with causes which properly belonged to the civil and criminal courts, but also decided them in a way contrary to the most essential principles of justice, and the most explicit statutes of the realm. It will scarcely admit of a doubt, that, in the prosecution of Melville, the court had more in view, than checking the liberties used by preachers, or resisting the alleged claim of church-courts to judge in cases of treason. Their grand object was to render the authority of the sovereign absolute, by bringing every cause before the council-table for decision. A right had already been claimed on behalf of the privy council to judge in any cause of a civil nature, and the claim was afterwards confirmed by a slavish parliament*. But the royal

* In the cause, James Menzies against Earl of Athole, before the Privy Council, April 3. 1576, it was pleaded by the defender that, by the institution of the College of Justice, all causes should be tried by them. It was answered by the pursuer, and "by Mr David Borthwick, advocate to his Matie in his hienes name, that be act maid be King James the third it is declared that it shall be lesum to his Matie or his successours

power was regarded as limited and incomplete as long as ecclesiastical causes were exempted from its jurisdiction. The right which the church-courts exercised of appointing their own diets, the freedom of discussion allowed in their meetings, and the jealousy with which they resisted every attempt to encroach on their rights, were disliked by the courtiers as tending to abridge the prerogative of the crown, and dreaded by them as holding out a temptation to the civil courts to lay claim to similar privileges. It was the suppression of these that was aimed at in the present prosecution, and in the late affair of Montgomery.

On his trial, Melville pleaded not only the acts of parliament and privy council ratifying the jurisdiction of the church, but also an agreement which had been entered into with the view of avoiding dissention on this very subject. In consequence of the offence which was taken at the court's having imprisoned Dury for expressions used in the pulpit, a conference was held between commissioners of the council and certain ministers, who agreed that, in future, if the king was offended at the doctrine of any preacher, he should cause a complaint to be

to decyde in whatsumever causes at y^r^ pleasour notwithstanding ony priveledge granted to ony vther Juges." The lords of secret council found that they were "Juges competent." (Lord Haddington's MS. Collections from Minutes of Secret Counsel, &c.) The Parliament 1584 ordained that the king's majesty, his heirs &c. shall be "Juges competent to all personis—*in all matteris* quhairin thay or ony of thame salbe apprehendit, summound or chargeit to answer to sic thingis as salbe inquirit of thame be our said soverane lord and his counsell." Act. Parl. Scot. iii. 293.

given in against him to the ecclesiastical court, instead of summoning him to appear before the privy council*. Accordingly this was done in the instance of Balcanquhall. Melville had, therefore, reason to complain that this agreement was violated in his case. It is a very insufficient and weak apology for such bad faith, that, in Balcanquhall's process, the General Assembly did not give the king satisfaction, and did "force him to take other courses than he desired to follow†;" as if the agreement had been, that the assembly should have the power to judge of the doctrine of preachers provided they humoured his Majesty by always condemning it.

Independently of these considerations, the proceedings against Melville were grossly unjust and illegal. His sentence rested not on the proof of the articles libelled, but entirely on the mode of his defence. Granting that the council had the

* "In respect that at the last calling of Jo^n^ Durie befor the privie counsell vpon ane compt of certaine words alledgit spokin in his sermon, ordour was takin be certaine comissioners of counsell and brether of the kirk, that in cace such accusationes afterward sould fall out, the kirk sould have the judgement yrof: And if the kings Ma. please to send any comissioners at tryall they sould see the proceidings of the kirk." Buik of Universall Kirk, f. 114. b.

† Spotswood, pp. 317—8. Those who consult the expressions charged on Balcanquhall, as given by the archbishop, will probably be of opinion, that if there was any thing offensive in them it lay in the preacher's playing on words in the pulpit. And surely his Majesty, at least, had no right to be offended at a speaker's being acquitted for *punning* unseasonably.

fullest right to judge in the cause and at first instance, and consequently that his requisition, protest, or declinature was invalid and inadmissible, all that remained for the court to do, was to repel his defences, to find itself competent, and to proceed with the trial. He was before them, and the only opposition which he made was by words and written instrument. Of the same complexion, and still worse, was the conduct of the council in introducing, among the grounds of his sentence, his behaviour and the words used by him on his defence. Although those had been as offensive and disrespectful as they were alleged to be *, still it was in the highest degree unjust to convert them into matter of crimination, and ground of punishment, in the absence and complete failure of all proof of the charge exhibited against him. Even in the case of those who are charged with the most flagrant crimes, great liberty is allowed to them, or to their counsel, to avail themselves of every legal plea, and to urge every plausible objection, whether it respects the competency of the judges, the relevancy of the libel,

* According to Spotswood's account, "He burst forth in undutiful speeches against the King, saying, *He perverted the laws both of God and man.*" (Hist. p. 330.) But this statement is refuted by the act of privy council, which makes no mention of a personal charge against the King, but merely says that he alleged, "that the laws of God and practices observed within this country, were perverted, and not observed in his case." (Record of Privy Council, Feb. 17. 1583.) If the archbishop had the minute of council before him, the odious turn which he gives to it would be most inexcusable.

the character of the witnesses, or the mode of conducting the prosecution. And it is only where tyranny and blind passion have usurped the seat of justice, that the strong, and, it may be, intemperate language that has escaped a prisoner, in the heat and agitation of his defence, is charged against him, or recorded, upon his conviction, as even an aggravation of his crime. Such procedure, while it demonstrates the iniquity of the judges, affords the strongest possible presumption of the innocence of the accused individual.

Melville's flight to England turned out to be of great advantage, by enabling him to discover and counteract the insidious schemes of Adamson. During the late changes the archbishop had acted with his usual craftiness and inconstancy. In the affair of Montgomery, he appeared to co-operate with the church, while, in reality, he was secretly encouraging the court to persevere in the support of episcopacy. At the same time that he was giving the strongest assurances of his attachment to the presbyterian discipline, he was, according to his own confession, plotting its overthrow*. The General

* "Efter y^t^ generall assemblie in October [1581] Mr Patrik Adamsone aggreit to all the pointis of the buik of Polecie and concerning the office of a Bischope, and calling to dinner Mr Andro Melvill my uncle Mr Alex^r^ Arbuthnot and vthers diuers, he subscryvit y^t^to, quhilk his subscription is yet in my uncles custodie. Item y^t^ wintar he past ower to a convention of the estaites, and efter he fand no^t^ curt as he luiked for he drest him to the ministers of Ed^r^, shawing tham how that he cam ower to court w^t^ Balams hart of purpose to curse the kirk and do euill,

Assembly having appointed the presbytery of Glasgow to try certain charges against him, Melville was empowered to summon him to appear; but he excused himself from executing the summons, on account of the sickness under which the bishop laboured. But no sooner had the King withdrawn from the confederated lords than Adamson left his castle, to which he had confined himself for a whole year, appeared in the pulpit, and, although he had himself approved of the enterprize at Ruthven *, inveighed against the nobility who were concerned in it, and such of his brethren as had supported their administration. To avoid the pending prosecution against him he left the kingdom in the end of the year 1583, under the pretext of going to Spa for the recovery of his health. But he proceeded no farther than London, and having obtained a public commis-

bot God haid wrought sa w^t him, y^t he had turned his hart to the contrare and maid him bathe in reasoning and votting to stand for the kirk, promising to schaw fordar and fordar fruitts of his conversion and guid miening. Wherat Jhone dury was sa reioysit y^t he treated him in hous and wrot ower at lainthe to me in his favour. Whervpon I past down to his castell at his hamecoming, and schew him what information concerning him I haid gottin from the brethring of Ed^r, thanking God y^rfor and offering him in caiss of continuance the right hand of societie, wherat reioysing he tauld me the maiter at lainthe, and namlie concerning the grait motions and working of the spreit. Weill said I y^t spreit is an vpright hairt and constant sprit, and will mair and mair kythe in effects; bot it is a fearfull thing to lie against him."—Melville's Diary, pp. 89—91, 95. The papers which Adamson subscribed at this time may be seen in the printed Calderwood, pp. 93—96. comp. Cald. MS. vol. iii. pp. 350—364.

* Act. Parl. Scot. iii. 326.

sion, became an active agent for Arran, by endeavouring to prepossess the court of Elizabeth against the Scottish noblemen who had fled into England. He consulted with the archbishop of Canterbury, and bishop of London, as to the overthrow of presbytery in his native country. He represented the principles and conduct of his brethren in an odious light to the ministers of the French Church in London, and wrote letters to the same purpose to the churches of Geneva and Zurich. Melville having obtained copies of these, lost no time in despatching other letters to the foreign churches, in which he conveyed a very different account of the late proceedings in Scotland, and painted Adamson in no very favourable or flattering colours. As he was well known in the places to which he wrote, his representations were successful in defeating the designs of Adamson, who hoped to have drawn from the continental divines such a reply as would be helpful to him in the execution of his plans *. Melville had hitherto lived on good terms with the archbishop, but from this time all friendly intercourse between them was broken off. Whatever encouragement Adamson might receive from the bishops in England, †, his

* Adamson's papers, and Melville's letter, or at least a translation of it, are preserved in James Melville's Diary, pp. 107—118. The answer from Geneva, addressed to the exiled lords, is inserted in Cald. iii. 735. Melville wrote also to Castol, one of the French ministers in London. Cotton MSS. Calig. C. ix. 59.

† Mr Beale, Clerk of the Queen's Closet, in a letter published by Strype, charges archbishop Whitgift with speaking in a degrading style of the ministers of Scotland and of other reformed

embassy did not succeed at court, and his residence at London injured the cause which he was sent to promote. This was owing in no small degree to his private conduct, which was unbecoming the clerical character and disgraceful to the sovereign whom he represented *.

Upon Adamson's return to Scotland a parliament was held, by which presbytery was overthrown, and the liberties of the church and the nation laid at the feet of the king, and those by whom he was guided. To decline the judgment of his Majesty or of the privy council in any matter was declared to be treason. Those were declared guilty of the same crime who should impugn or seek the diminution of the power and authority of any of the three estates of parliament; by which all that the church had done for a series of years in the abolition of episcopacy was pronounced treasonable. All judgments and jurisdictions, spiritual or temporal, which had hitherto been exercised, but were not approved by parliament, were discharged, and all the subjects

churches, and says that he was suspected of having given his approbation to Adamson's design of overturning the order of the church of Scotland. Whitgift, in an apologetical letter, says, that he had not given his subscription to Adamson's plan, but does not deny having conferred with him on the subject. Life of Whitgift, pp. 149, 150. Append. p. 57.

* In making this statement, I do not rest on the authority of satirical poems (See Dalyell's Scottish Poems of the 16th Century, p. 309.); nor even of Calderwood, who might be suspected of giving too easy faith to reports unfavourable to the bishop. But it is confirmed by Sir James Melville, who was of the same political party with Adamson, and appointed to succeed him as

prohibited, under high pains, from convening in any assembly, except the ordinary courts, to treat, consult, or determine on any matter of state, civil or ecclesiastical, without the special commandment and licence of his Majesty. This act was intended for the suppression not only of the presbyteries, but also of the General Assembly; or rather, it put the whole government of the church into the hands of the king, without whose express consent no ecclesiastical assembly could be held *. Accordingly, it was ordained, by another act, that commissions should

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ambassador. "The said Bishop—was disdained in England, and dishonoured his country by borrowing gold and pretious furniture from the Bishop of London and others, which was never restored nor payed for." (Memoires, p. 150. folio edit.) Adamson, in a letter to Whitgift, promises to send his Grace "a galloway naig," in return for his hospitality; but that the "opportunit commodite" of conveying it ever presented itself, or that the naig ever occupied a stall at Lambeth, is more than dubious. (Harl. MSS. num. 7004. 2.)

* "The vther forme of Jugement quhilk hes Majesty hes dischargit, is the generall assemblie of the haill Clergie in the Realme: under pretence quhairof ane number of Ministeris from sundry presbyteries did assemble, with sum gentlemen of the country," &c.—"His Maiestie vpoun necessarie occasions—vpoune humble supplicatioun made vnto his Hienes will not refuse to grant them licence to convene To wit, the Bishoppes, Commissioners, and sume of the maist verteous, learnit & godly of their dioceis," &c. (Declaratioun of the Kings Majesties intentioun and meaning toward the lait Acts of Parliament, pp. 17, 19. Edin. 1585.) Even the meetings of kirk-sessions were discharged by this act. Accordingly, on the 28th May, 1584, a special licence was granted by his Majesty, in virtue of his dispensing power, for holding the weekly exercise and meetings of kirk-session in Edinburgh, "notwithstanding our late act of par-

be given to the bishops, and such others as shall be constituted king's commissioners in ecclesiastical causes, to put order to all ecclesiastical matters in their dioceses. In fine, it was ordained that none should presume, privately or publicly, in sermons, declamations, or familiar conferences, to utter any false, untrue, or slanderous speeches, to the disdain, reproach, and contempt of his Majesty, his council, or proceedings, or to the dishonour, hurt or prejudice of his highness, his parents, and progenitors, or to meddle in the affairs of his highness and his estate, present, bygane, or in time coming, under the pains contained in the acts of parliament against the makers and tellers of lesings, which were to be executed with all rigour, even upon those who heard such speeches and did not reveal them *.

These are the *black acts* (as they were called) of

liament or any pains contained therein, *anent the which wee dispense be thir presents.*" (Cald. iii. 376.) An intimation of a similar kind was made to the elders of St Andrews by Adamson. (Record of Kirk Session of St And. June 17. 1584.) But where the ministers or elders were unconformable to the will of the court, they were prevented from assembling. The Kirk Session of Glasgow, which used to meet every week, did not assemble from July 18, 1584, to March 31, 1585. (Wodrow's Life of Mr David Weems, p. 33. MSS. vol. 3.)

* Act. Parl. Scot. iii. 293, 296, 303.—As a fit supplement to the last mentioned act, Buchanan's History and Dialogue *De Jure Regni* are condemned. *Tempora mutantur.* Not many years before, a pension of £20 yearly had been assigned, "for the guid, trew, and thankfull service done to our so. lord be his louit Mr Johne Geddy, seruitour to Mr George Buchquhannan, preceptour to his hienes and kepar of his privie seal, in writing of the Chronicles of this realme and vtheris lovable werkis of the

this servile parliament. Though eversive of all liberty, civil and natural as well as ecclesiastical, not a nobleman, baron, or burgess ventured to open his mouth against them. Some of the ministers, having received secret information of what was intended, repaired to the parliament-house, with the design of protesting for the rights of the church; but the doors were shut on them. The magistrates of Edinburgh received orders to pull out of the pulpit any individual who presumed to censure what the parliament had done. But this did not deter them from exonerating their conscience; and when the acts were proclaimed at the market-cross, Lawson, Balcanquhall, and Pont, "taking their lives in their hands, went boldly and made public protestation" against them, with all the ceremonies usual on such occasions *.

Orders were immediately issued to apprehend the protesters, but they saved themselves by a timely flight. Upwards of twenty ministers soon after followed their example, and took refuge in England. Arran threatened, with his usual brutal

said Mr Georges edition." May 8, 1577. (Reg. of Privy Seal, vol. 43. f. 81.)

To be consistent the parliament ought also to have condemned Buchanan's *Baptistes*, or at any rate to have expunged the following sentence in the dedication of it to James: "Volo etiam hunc libellum apud posteros testem fore, si quid aliquando pravis consultoribus impulsus, vel regni licentia rectam educationem superante, secus committas, non præceptoribus, sed tibi, qui eis recte monentibus non sis obsecutus, id vitio vertendum esse."

* Hume of Godscroft's History, ii. 335—6. Cald. iii. 366, 368. Spots. 333.

coarseness, "that he would make Lawson's head to leap from his halse*, though it was as big as a hay-stack." He imprisoned David Lindsay, the minister of Leith, in Blackness, and John Howieson in Spey Tower. For praying for his distressed brethren, Nicol Dalgleish, minister of St Cuthbert's Church, was tried for his life. The jury acquitted him; but he was instantly served with a new indictment for holding correspondence with rebels, merely because he had read a letter which one of the ministers of Edinburgh had sent to his wife. Being persuaded to come in the king's will for this fault, sentence of death was passed on him, and, though it was not executed, yet by a refinement in cruelty, the scaffold was erected and kept standing for seve- weeks before the window of his prison †. All ministers, and masters of colleges and schools were required to subscribe a bond, in which they [illegible] ged to obey the late acts of parliament, and to [illegible] of a w- ledge the bishops as their ecclesiastical superiors, under the pain of being for ever deprived of their benefices and salaries ‡. The most of the ministers

* neck.

† Nicol Dalgleish had been for many years a regent in St Leonard's College, St Andrews, which he left in the year 1577. (Papers of the University.) He went to France, and remained for some time at Bourges. (Cald. ii. 606.) After his return to Scotland he was nominated by the General Assembly, in 1581, as a fit person for being made principal of King's College, when it was proposed to remove Arbuthnot to the ministry of New Aberdeen. (Buik of Univ. Kirk, f. 102.)

‡ Act Parl. Scot. iii. 347.

refused subscription. Having convened the principal recusants, Arran asked them, How they durst be so bold as to find fault with the late acts of parliament. John Craig told him, that they durst find fault with any thing repugnant to the word of God. Upon this Arran started to his feet, and threatened that he would shave their heads, pair their nails, cut their toes, and make them an example to all rebels. Craig having admonished him that God had humbled persons who were raised as high as he was, he replied, "I will make you of a false friar a true prophet;" and falling on his knees, exclaimed, "Now I am humbled." Perceiving that the greater part of the ministers were not to be terrified into compliance, Adamson artfully divided them by proposing to introduce into the bond one of those ambiguous and unmeaning clauses which serve only to blind the simple, and to salve the consciences of such as are anxious to escape from trouble *. Craig, after a manful resistance, suffered himself to be caught in this snare, and drew into it the greater part of his brethren. Even the honest and intrepid Dury is said to have become a subscriber, and thus to have lent his hand to build again the things which he was among the foremost to destroy. And Erskine of Dun, whose character

* They promised "to obey &c. *according to the word of God.*" James Melville, who wrote a long letter intended to expose the evil of the bond, characterised this qualifying clause as "*manifestam repugnantiam in adjecto*; as if one should say, he would obey the pope and his prelates according to the word of God." Diary, p. 144.

stood so high, and who had formerly made so honourable a stand for the liberties of the church, not only became a conformist himself, but was extremely active in persuading others to conform. So difficult is it for good men to preserve a strict and inflexible integrity in the hour of temptation*! There is no end to the impositions of despotical authority, and to the humiliations of those who have once bowed their necks to its yoke. Subscription was not reckoned a sufficient bond of fidelity, and written injunctions were sent to all the conforming ministers, by which they were obliged to frame every sentiment and expression in such a manner as to please the court†.

The privileges of all the universities were violated. At Glasgow, the rector, Andrew Hay, was banished to the north of Scotland; all the professors were thrown into jail; the students dismissed, and commanded, by public proclamation, to leave the city; and the college shut up. Nor did the remote situation of the university at Aberdeen save it from similar treatment ‡.

As soon as he recovered from the depression of mind into which he had sunk upon the flight of his uncle, James Melville returned to St Andrews, and exerted himself in preserving the college from the ruin with which it was threatened. His first care was to secure his uncle's library, which was in danger

* Cald. iii. 529, 641—643. Hume of Godscroft's Hist. p. 337. Wodrow's Life of Mr James Melville, p. 161. MSS. vol. 19.

† Cald. iii. 742—3.

‡ Cotton MSS. Calig. C. viii. 78.

of confiscation, after which he endeavoured to supply his place by reading lectures on the system of divinity. In addition to his double task as professor of Divinity and of Hebrew, he found himself obliged to undertake the management of the revenues of the college, and the board of the students; the steward having refused to act as soon as he learned that the court looked on the establishment with an evil eye. In these circumstances he was greatly encouraged by the sympathy of the masters of the university, who attended his lectures as they had done those of his uncle, and did every thing in their power to promote the interests of the New College. On this occasion, too, Thomas Buchanan testified his regard to his exiled friend, at the risk of displeasing the court, by coming forward and taking a share of the burden of theological instruction, to which he had formerly been appointed by the General Assembly *. They met with no interruption until the meeting of parliament, but no sooner had it passed the laws overthrowing the presbyterian discipline, than Adamson came to St Andrews for the purpose of imposing them on the university. He had procured an order for apprehending James Melville; but the latter, being apprized

* October, 1582. "It is leisum for a minister for a season to superseid ye ministrie and vse ye office of a doctor. y^t for ye assemblie hes concludit and ordanit Mr Tho. Buchannan to enter in ye new Colledge and vse and exercise ye office of a doctour y^t for ye support of ye samein, his kirk [Ceres] being alwayes provydit of a sufficient pastour and ye said Mr Thomas sufficientlie satisfied anent ye promise made for expeditioun of his pleyis." Buik of Universall Kirk, f. 120, b.

of the fact, escaped, not without hazard, by crossing the sea in an open boat to Berwick. Robertson was the only professor who remained in the college, and the bishop soon after suppressed the teaching of theology *.

A few days before his nephew arrived at Berwick, Melville had left it for London, accompanied by his relation and pupil, Patrick Forbes younger of Corse. He had obtained liberty from the English court to repair to the capital, and was furnished with instructions from the exiled nobleman who still remained at Berwick. Along with James Carmichael, minister of Haddington, who added to his learning a talent for public business, he had several interviews with Walsingham, Bowes, and Sydney, and found these statesman cordially inclined to befriend them †. But there were others, particularly among the bishops, who were unfriendly to their cause, and did every thing in their power to injure it. Adamson conveyed his representations through the archbishop of Canterbury ‡; and the agents of Arran spared no professions or promises to induce Elizabeth to drive the exiles from her

* Melville's Diary, pp. 105, 118—123. Cald. iii. 422.

† A great number of letters written by Carmichael, Galloway, and Hume of Godscroft, and containing minute information of transactions at this period, are preserved among the Wodrow MSS. in the Advocates Library. A great part of them is transcribed into the 3d vol. of Calderwood's MS. and Wodrow's Lives of Carmichael and Hume.—Carmichael was the author of "Grammaticæ Latinæ de Etymologia liber secundus. Cantab. 1587."

‡ Letter from Patrick archb. of St Andrews to his Grace of Canterbury, June 16. 1584. Harl. MSS. num. 7004. 4.

dominions, or at least to refuse a hearing to their complaints. Melville was at this time employed in writing a reply to a vindication of the Scottish court, published under the title of a Declaration of the King's Majesty's intention in the late acts of Parliament. It was artfully drawn up by archbishop Adamson, and contained vile aspersions on the banished lords, and on the proceedings of the church. Melville, of course, came in for a large share of the abuse. This declaration deserves particular notice as the original of those misrepresentations of Scots affairs, which prevailed so long in England, and are not completely removed at this day. The answers given to it by Melville and others exposed its falsehoods; but they shared the fate of all fugitive pieces, in being soon lost and forgotten *. The declaration, on the contrary, was carefully preserved. By means of some of Arran's agents, it was reprinted at London, with a preface more odious than itself. Being published in the name of the king, it was embodied in Hollinshed's Chronicle as an authentic document, from which it continued to be quoted and copied and reprinted,

* Melville's reply (which is inserted Cald. iii. 714—734) is entitled, An "Answer to the Declaration of certain Intentions set out in the King's name &c. 7th of Feb. 1585." James Melville is supposed to be the author of another reply, in the form of a Dialogue between Zelator, Temporizor, and Palæmon, which is dated Newcastle, Feb. 10, 1585. (Cald. iii. 672—714.) It is probable that both were printed. (Ib. 423, 428, 733.) The former passes over what relates to Melville; but the latter vindicates him strenuously, and its style is sharper and more acrimonious than that of the other. (See extracts from them in the printed Calderwood, pp. 174—184.)

after James had disowned it, and Adamson had retracted it as an unfounded and slanderous libel *.

In the month of July 1584, the Earls of Angus and Mar, and the Master of Glammis, wrote to Melville, requesting him to repair to them immediately at Newcastle, along with Lawson, "on matters of greater importance" than they could judge of alone †. With this request he was prevented from complying, as he was then absent from London, on a visit to the universities of Oxford and Cambridge ‡. He was received at these ancient seats of literature in a manner becoming his profession and merits, and expressed himself much delighted with the magnificence of the colleges, the gravity of the professors, and the courteous manners of the students. On this occasion he formed an intimacy, which was afterwards

* This was strange, considering that the Declaration was the Manifesto of an arbitrary administration, and an abusive attack on the men who had uniformly shewn themselves the most steady friends of England. "Our kirk deserved no such indignity at the hands of that estate as to be so highly prejudged by the publick records of the realme; for our kirk was ever carefull, and at the same time specially, to entertain amitie betwixt the two countries. But let such a lying libell lay there as a blurr to blott the Chronicles of England." (Cald. iii. 650.) But this was not all. In 1640, the Declaration was reprinted, in Scots and in English, not by the cavaliers at Oxford, (that would not have been strange) but by the friends of the parliament at London, who had so lately loaded the Scots with thanks for their "brotherly assistance," and solemnly vowed "the preservation of the reformed religion in the church of Scotland,—in discipline and government!" Baillie's Historical Vindication, Epist. Dedic. A 4.

† Cald. iii. 432.

‡ Melville's Diary, p. 150.

maintained by letters, with two very promising young men, George Carleton, who became bishop of Chichester, and Thomas Savile, whose early erudition was no less admired, than his premature death was deplored, by the learned on the continent and in his native country *. Melville afterwards paid a fine compliment to two of the theological masters, and to the young men whom he found at this time prosecuting their studies under them:

Non ita æterni Whittakerus † acer
Luminis vindex, patriæque lumen,
Dixit aut sensit: neque celsa summi
Penna Renoldi ‡,
Certa sublimes aperire calles,
Sueta cœlestes iterare cursus,
Læta misceri niveis beatæ
Civibus aulæ.
Nec Tami aut Cami accola saniore
Mente, qui cœlum sapit in frequenti
Hermathenæo, et celebri Lycæo
Culta juventus:
Cujus affulget genio Jôvæ lux:
Cui nitens Sol justitiæ renidet:
Quem jubar Christi radiantis alto
Spectat olympo §.

* See Melville's letter "D. Th. Saville et G. Carletono," in the Appendix. Wood's Athenæ Oxon. by Bliss, vol. i. col. 159. vol. ii. 312, 422. Fasti, coll 212, 227. Thomas Savile was a younger brother of Sir Henry Savile, provost of Eton College. His letters in *Cambdeni Epistolæ* shew the progress which he had made in recondite literature before Melville became acquainted with him.

† Dr William Whitaker, Regius Professor, and Master of St John's College, Cambridge.

‡ Dr John Rainolds, Divinity Reader, and successively Master of Queen's College, and President of Corpus Christi, Oxford.

§ Anti-tami-cami-categoria, Authore A Melvino. 1604.

On his return to London, Melville had to perform the painful duty of attending the death-bed of his early friend, and highly esteemed brother, James Lawson. The air of England disagreed with his constitution, and induced a disorder which was aggravated by distress of mind on account of the unhappy state of his native country, and the undutiful behaviour of his flock. He had joined with his colleague in addressing a letter to the inhabitants of Edinburgh, in which they stated the reasons of their flight. Adamson drew up a reply in the name of the congregation, couched in the harshest and most contumelious language, denominating their ministers, fugitives, rebels, and wolves, and renouncing all connection with them. This the King sent to the town council, accompanied with an injunction, that it should be subscribed by them, and the principal inhabitants; and by the threats and importunities of the court, a number of persons were induced to set their names to this disgraceful paper *. Their conduct made a deeper impression on the delicate spirits of Lawson than it ought to have done, considering all the circumstances of

* Cald. iii. 377—383, 436. Hume of Godscroft's Hist. ii. 361.—On the 11th June 1584, a commissioner from his Majesty presented to the town council an answer to a letter of their ministers, with a charge to subscribe it. Because it appeared to be "consavit in scharp and ruch tearmes," the council appointed another form to be drawn up. On the afternoon of the same day, they appointed some of their number to go to Falkland to intreat his Majesty, that they should "nocht be burthenit wt any thing hurtfull to yair consciences, and to labour that his Maitie may be content with the secund form y^of pennit be the town." (Records of

the case. He died piously and comfortably, bearing an honourable testimony to the cause in which he had spent his life, and exhorting his brethren who surrounded his bed, and had alleviated his sufferings by their sympathizing attentions, to persevere in their attachment to it whatever it might cost them. Such was the respect in which he was held, that, though a stranger, his body was accompanied to the grave by above five hundred persons of respectability. Lawson had been selected from all his brethren by Knox, to whom "he owed even his own self besides," as the individual best qualified for succeeding him in the charge of the church of Edinburgh; and his conduct in that important station, and during the most difficult times, proved that the choice had been made with our Reformer's usual sagacity. He was pious, learned, eloquent, modest, zealous, prudent *. He had been originally in a humble situation, and displayed the ornament of a humble spirit after he rose to distinction. His capacity and avidity for learning had attracted the attention of Andrew Simson, the celebrated master of the school of Perth, who took him into his own house, bestowed upon him a gratuitous education, and

Town Council of Edinburgh, vol. vii. 91, b. 92, a.) This request was peremptorily refused. See the Letter from William Davison to Secretary Walsingham, June 15. 1584; in the Appendix.

* David Buchanan De Script. Scotis Illustr. num. 58. MS. Adv. Lib. W. 6. 14. The works which this author ascribes to Lawson appear to have been all in manuscript

recommended him first to the university of St Andrews, and afterwards to the Countess of Crawfurd, whose son he accompanied as tutor to the continent *. After his return to his native country he testified his gratitude by the zeal with which he uniformly promoted public education; and his exertions in restoring the High School, and erecting the University of Edinburgh, entitle his name to a place among the distinguished benefactors of literature †.

Balcanquhall and Davidson preached once or twice in London, but received an order from the

* Wodrow's Life of James Lawson, pp. 1, 2, 30. Cald. iii. 535.

† Crawfurd's Hist. of University, pp. 19, 26. Feb. 3. 1568, he was presented to "the secund place w'in the new collage or pedagog w'in the universitie of Sanctandrois," or, if it was already provided, to "the third place in the said new college." (Reg. of Present. vol. i. f. 23.) January 8. 1569, he was presented to the place of sub-principal in the university of Aberdeen. (Ib. vol. i. f. 26. b.) He died on the 12th of October 1584, and was buried "in the new church yaird at Bedlem." His testament was subscribed by him "at London in Honielane of Cheapside, in Mr Antony Martine's house upon Wednesday the 7 of October 1584." On hearing of his death, archbishop Adamson wrote a testament in his name, containing a recantation of his principles, and a variety of letters to his brethren, in which he is made to reflect on their conduct and motives in opposing the king and the bishops. These, as well as the real testament, are inserted in Cald. iii. 537—584. His testament informs us, that he left three children. Among the alumni of the New College of St Andrews, A. 1601, was "M. Jacobus Lowson, M. Jac. f. Edinburg.;" of whom the record says, "paulo post obiit." Elizabeth Lawsoun was the only surviving child on Aug. 23. 1603. (Inquisitiones Retorn. Gener. num. 142.) She married Mr George

bishop to desist *. When the banished noblemen came to the English capital, they applied for the use of a separate place of worship, but this liberty, which was granted to the French and Dutch, was refused to them. The Lieutenant of the Tower invited the Scots ministers to preach in his Chapel, which was exempted from the jurisdiction of the bishop of London. Among other exercises performed there, Melville read a Latin lecture on Genesis, which was well attended, and much admired, particularly by the Earl of Angus, who possessed a more cultivated mind than any of the Scottish peerage †. It is somewhat singular, that he should, on this occasion, have officiated in the place where he was afterwards confined as a prisoner of state.

Scotland was in the mean time suffering from the ravages of the plague, by which its principal towns were depopulated, and from the scourge of the worst of all plagues, an insensate and despotical government. The following anecdotes, which are not generally known, will perhaps convey as correct an idea of the policy with which it was afflicted, as the more glaring acts of tyranny which have been often stated. In the year 1584, Robert Brown, the founder of the sect of Brownists in England, came out of the Low Countries into Scotland, with a number of his followers. Having taken up his resi-

Greir, minister of Haddington. (Commissary records of Edinburgh, April 5. 1615.)

* Cald. iii. 649.

† Hume of Godscroft's Hist. ii. 361.

dence in the Canongate of Edinburgh, he began to disseminate his peculiar opinions, and to circulate writings in which all the reformed churches were stigmatized as unscriptural and antichristian societies. The court took this rigid sectary under their protection, and encouraged him, for no other conceivable reason, than his exclaiming against the ministers, and calling in question their authority *. At the same time papists were openly favoured, and arrangements made with James Skeen, one of their emissaries, for having a colony of Jesuits quietly admitted into the country † —The wives of the exiled ministers of Edinburgh, indignant at an abusive letter which Adamson had addressed to their husbands, wrote a reply to it, in which they expressed themselves with great warmth, and treated his Grace very unceremoniously ‡. Instead of overlooking this excusable, if not amiable, display of conjugal affection, or defending himself by the weapons with which he was assailed, the affronted primate, in a way rather unmanly, retreated behind the throne, and directed its thunder

* Cald. iii. 302—304. On his return to England, Brown published a book into which he introduced various invectives against the ministers and government of the church of Scotland. Dr Bancroft did not scruple to appeal to his inflamed statements, as one of the two authorities on which he rested his attack on the presbyterian discipline. (Sermon preached at Pauls Cross, 9 Feb. 1588, p. 63. Reprinted Lond. 1636.)

† W. Davison to Sec. Walsingham. Cotton MSS. Calig. C. viii. 63.

‡ Harl. MSS. num. 291. 68. Cald. iii. 437.

against the spirited females, whose wrath he had provoked, and whose charges he was unable to repel. A royal proclamation was issued, charging them and their families instantly, under the pain of rebellion, to leave their manses; and also commanding and charging, under the same pains, certain other matrons, "worse affected to the obedience of our late acts of parliament, to remove from the capital, and retire beyond the water of Tay, till they give farther declaration of their disposition *." The treatment of the Countess of Gowrie, whose husband had been lately executed, was marked with the most savage inhumanity. After being different times repulsed in her suits in behalf of her children, she one day met the King, and "reaching at his cloak to stay his Majesty, Arran, putting her from him, did not only overthrow her, which was easy to do in respect of the poor lady's weakness, but marched over her, who partly with extreme grief, and partly with weakness, swooned presently in the open street, and was fain to be conveyed into one of the next houses, where with much ado they recovered life of her †." The last fact which I shall mention is, if possible, a proof of still deeper depravity, whether it be viewed in a political, moral, or religious point of view. William, Prince of Orange, the patriotic asserter of the liberties of the Low Coun-

* Harl. MSS. num. 291. 66. Cald. iii. 531. Janet Adamson, relict of Sir James Macgill of Rankeillor, Clerk Register, was among these "worse affected" ladies.

† Davison to Walsingham. Cotton MSS. Calig. C. viii. 84.

tries, fell at this time by the hands of a hired assassin. When the news of his death came to Scotland, the King said openly, that the prince had met with such an end as he deserved, and the greater part of the court rejoiced at the event *.

A government so much at variance with the sentiments of the nation, and which trampled so outrageously on its tenderest and most sacred feelings, could not maintain itself long. The people groaned for deliverance from a tyranny of which they durst not complain. The principal courtiers whom Arran had attached to him by his favours, disgusted at his arrogance or anticipating the fall of his fortunes, consulted their own security by entering into a correspondence with those who were likely soon to supplant him. His power rested wholly on the dread he inspired, and the ascendancy which he had gained over the royal mind. James himself began to feel unhappy, though he still continued to be the slave of an ignoble and vicious favouritism †. In these circumstances, the exiled noblemen, having obtained the permission of Elizabeth, appeared on the borders. They had scarcely entered Scotland when the inhabitants began to flock to their standard, and

* Cotton MSS. Calig. C. viii. 63. Cald. iii. 435, 528.

† "The King is become very ill: I will say no worse. For being at the hunting, when he came home, he drank to all his dogs. Among the rest he had one called *Tell-true*, to whom he spake thir words: *Tell-true*, I drink to thee above all the rest of my hounds; for I will give thee more credence nor either the Bishop or Craig." (David Home of Godscroft to Mr James Carmichael, March 20, 1584. Cald. iii. 750.)

by the time that they had reached Stirling, to which the court retreated on their approach, they found themselves surrounded with a numerous army. After meeting with a slight resistance, they entered the town, and Arran consulted his safety by flight. A short negociation followed; and the King having come from the castle, the nobles laid down their arms, and were immediately admitted to favour and power.

Melville accompanied the banished noblemen from London, and returned to Scotland in the beginning of November 1585, after an absence of twenty months*.

* Melville's Diary, pp. 162—164.

CHAPTER VII.

1585—1592.

Melville exerts himself in recovering the liberties of the church—difficulties in the way of this—selfishness of the restored noblemen—threatened dissention among the ministers of the church—dogmatism of the King—restoration of the theological college of St Andrews—Melville reorganizes the College of Glasgow—returns to his place at St Andrews—his share in the process against Adamson—he is ordered to remove beyond the Tay—is again restored—execution of Queen Mary—the French poet, Du Bartas, visits the university of St Andrews—annexation of the temporalities of bishoprics to the crown—exertions of Melville at the time of the Spanish Armado—interview between James Melville and one of the Spanish Admirals—the court favourable to the church—Robert Bruce—Melville's Stephaniskion, pronounced at the coronation of the Queen—Bancroft's attack on the Church of Scotland—disgrace, recantation, and death of Adamson—parliamentary establishment of presbytery—remarks upon it.

The first object that engaged Melville's attention, after his return to Scotland, was the restoration of the liberties of the church, which lay buried under

the late parliamentary laws. Considering the corrupt influence by which they had been procured, the irregular manner in which they were enacted, and the baleful effects which they had produced, the abrogation of these laws might have been expected, almost as a matter of course, at the first meeting of the estates of the kingdom. But it soon appeared that this measure would have to encounter the most strenuous opposition, and that it would find weak and treacherous friends in those who were under the greatest obligations to support it.

The removal of the corruptions which had been introduced into the church, during the late maladministration, was at first craved by the nobility, and acceded to by the King in general terms *. But, in the course of the conferences, the sagacity of Secretary Maitland soon discovered, that, provided they obtained satisfaction in what regarded themselves, the most of the nobles would be easily induced to pass from their demands respecting the church. Emboldened by this information, the King opposed any alteration of the existing ecclesiastical law, as touching on his prerogative, which he was determined to maintain. And the nobility resolved to gratify him in this, at the expence of their honour and their good faith. In all the manifestoes which they had published to the world, they professed that one of their primary objects was the redress of the grievances under which the church laboured. They had repeatedly

* Melville's Diary, p. 104.

and solemnly pledged themselves to the same cause during their exile *; and by this means had secured the good wishes, and the cordial support of the nation in their recent attempt. The hardships and sufferings which the ministers of the church had endured were owing, in no small degree, to the inviolable attachment which they had shewn to the liberties of the nation and the interests of the nobility. Had they refused to approve of the Road of Ruthven, or had they afterwards consented to retract the approbation which they had given it, and yielded their support to the administration of Arran, they might have secured to themselves favourable terms, or at least have escaped persecution—they might have escaped imprisonment, and the loss of goods, and exile, and this last wrong and insult, for which they were altogether unprepared, and which was, in some respects, more galling and intolerable than all the former. The nobility did not pretend to deny the truth of these allegations. But they pleaded that the King was inflexibly bent on the maintenance of episcopacy; that he felt his honour implicated in the support of the late statutes; that it was necessary to humour him and to gain his affections; that as soon as their power was firmly established they would obtain for the church all that she required; and that, in the mean time, if any altercation arose, they would interpose their influence between her ministers and the resentment of the sovereign. All

* Cald. iii. 328, 329, 800. Melville's Diary, p. 133.

this was only an excuse for bad faith; and it was, moreover, bad policy. The King could not, and he would not, have refused the joint demands of the nobility and the church: his honour would not suffer so much from giving up the bishops as it had done from declaring good subjects, and admitting into his secret council, men whom he had so lately proclaimed traitors and rebels; they could urge their sense of duty and the public pledges which they had given, with more propriety, and with less risk of giving offence, than their own personal claims; by humouring his Majesty in the manner proposed they would foster the prejudices which he had unfortunately conceived, infuse jealousies of him into the minds of his best subjects, and give occasion to discord and dissention between him and the ministers of the church; and, in fine, the boon which, if now conferred, would allay all animosities, diffuse joy and gratitude among all his Majesty's subjects, and establish the authority of his present counsellors on a solid and permanent basis, would, if withheld till a future and distant period, produce none of these salutary effects—would be conferred without cordiality, and accepted without confidence *.

From the charge of selfishness and ingratitude, to which the nobility of Scotland subjected themselves on the present occasion, justice requires that we should except the Earl of Angus, who remained faithful to his promises, and deeply lamented the

* Hume of Godscroft's Hist. ii. 375—381, 402—407. Cald. iii. 853. Sir James Melville's Mem. 171.

defection of his peers. This is but a small part of the tribute due to the memory of the most patriotic, pious, and intelligent of the Scots nobility, whose modest and unassuming disposition, and retired habits, prevented him from taking that lead in public affairs to which he was entitled by his rank, and which those who best knew his worth and talents were most anxious that he should not have declined *. It has been one of the great misfortunes of princes and commonwealths, that men of integrity and real patriotism have shrunk from the contest necessary to obtain and keep possession of high official stations, and have given way to the ambitious, the daring, and the unprincipled, who deemed no sacrifices too dear for the enjoyment of power, and scrupled not to set a whole nation or even the world on fire, that they might rescue their own names from obscurity. This will continue to be the case until a change take place, which something more than the reform of constitutional laws is required to bring about, when it shall be believed that the affairs of a nation can be managed on the same principles as other affairs, and when sound sense and uprightness of intention shall be more regarded and admired by the public, than a talent for intrigue and bustle and shew—a period, as to the near approach of which, the wisest will not be the most sanguine in their expectations.

One of the first acts of the new counsellors was to

* Hume of Godscroft, ii. 289, 293, 344, 375. Melville's Diary, pp. 134, 164, 230. Spots. 372.

advise the King to summon a parliament to be held at Linlithgow in the month of December. This was necessary to rescind the forfeitures under which they were still lying, and to legalize the step which they had lately taken. It had been the almost uniform practice, since the Reformation, for the General Assembly to convene before the meeting of Parliament, that they might have an opportunity of preparing petitions to lay before that high court. Accordingly, it was judged proper that the moderator of last assembly should call an extraordinary meeting to be held at Dunfermline in the end of November. But when the members assembled, the provost, alleging an express command from his Majesty, refused them admission into the town; upon which they met in the fields, and adjourned to meet again at Linlithgow, some days before the opening of parliament *.

In the interval Melville was busily employed in repressing a dissention which threatened to break out among his brethren respecting the late subscription. Travelling through different parts of the country, he urged the necessity of union in the present occasion, and prevailed on the subscribers to co-operate with their brethren in petitioning for the rescinding of the offensive laws †. The success which attended his labours was nearly blasted after they assembled at Linlithgow. A preacher introduced the subject into the pulpit, and condemn-

* Melville's Diary, pp. 164—5. † Calderwood, iii. 810.

ed the conduct of the subscribers. Craig considered his honour as affected by this, and preached a sermon before the members of parliament, in which he not only vindicated what he had done, and blam the *peregrine ministers* (as he denominated those who had fled to England); but, contrary to the doctrine which he had once maintained, extended the royal prerogative beyond all reasonable bounds, and exhorted the noblemen, instead of standing upon their innocence, to crave pardon of his Majesty *. This incident would have led to consequences fatal to the church, had not the flame been allayed by the interposition of the wiser and more moderate, who persuaded the parties to postpone the adjustment of their differences to a future period. This affair being accommodated, a deputation of ministers was appointed to wait on the nobility, and again to urge the fulfilment of their promises. They intreated, reasoned, expostulated, threatened; but all to no purpose. The only answer which they could obtain was, that an insuperable obstacle had presented itself in the repugnance of the royal mind to their requests. They were thus reduced to the necessity of having recourse to the King, and this produced a personal altercation with him, which they were most anxious to avoid. He received them very ungraciously, repeated all the charges against them which hey had been accustomed to hear from Lennox and Arran, and made use of expressions which were not more disrespectful to them, than they were

* Life of Knox, ii. 127. comp. Hume of Godscroft, ii. 333—399.

indecorous from the mouth of a king. The consequence was, that he was obliged to hear some things in reply, which were not the most grateful to his royal ears. Melville defended himself and his brethren with spirit, and hot speeches passed between him and his Majesty at several interviews.

At the King's desire the ministers drew up their animadversions on the laws, whose repeal they requested. When these were presented, his Majesty shut himself up in his chamber, and spent a whole day in writing a reply to them with his own hand. This he delivered to the ministers as his declaration and interpretation of the acts, and told them it should be as authentic as an act of parliament*. It differed very considerably from the declaration lately published by authority, and which James now thought proper to disavow under the name of "the bishop of St Andrews's own declaration †." But still it

* Printed Calderwood, pp. 193—196. James prefixed to his Declaration the words, *Ejus est explicare cujus est condere*; a legal maxim of which he was extremely fond, and which he often used in this application. King James's Works, p. 520. Lord Hailes, Memorials, i. 52.

† The following is a specimen of his Majesty's explications. "*My* bishops, which are one of the three estates, shall have power, as far as God's word and example of the primitive kirk will permit, and not according to that man of sin his abominable abuses and corruptions.—In the fourth act, *I* discharge all jurisdictions not approved in parliament and conventions without my special license.—I acclaime not to myself to be judge of doctrine in religion, salvation, heresies, or true interpretation of Scripture. I allow not a bishop according to the traditions of men or inventions of the pope, but only according to God's word.—Finally I say his office is solum [illegible] *ad vitam*, having therefore ome prelation and dignity above his brethren, as was in the pri-

defended, and indicated a disposition to support, the main encroachments which had been made on the jurisdiction and liberties of the church. Notwithstanding the challenge with which it concluded, the ministers declined engaging in a contest in which authority would have supplied the lack of argument. As parliament was in haste to conclude its business, they contented themselves with presenting a supplication to the King, in which, after expressing their satisfaction at the display which he had given of his "knowledge and judgement," they craved that the subject should be submitted to grave consultation; that the execution of the objectionable acts should be suspended until the next meeting of parliament; that they should have liberty to hold their ecclesiastical assemblies as heretofore; that the bishops should assume no more power than they exercised before the late enactments; and that all ministers and masters of colleges should be restored to their places and possessions. The last article of their request was ratified by the estates *.

This parliament dissolved without fulfilling any of

mitive kirk.—To conclude, I confess and acknowledge Christ Jesus to be head and lawgiver to the same, and whatsomever person doth arrogate to himself as head of the kirk, and not as member, to suspend or alter any thing that the word of God hath only remitted unto them, that man, I say, committeth manifest idolatry, and sinneth against the Father, in not trusting the word of the Son; against the Son, in not obeying him, and taking his place; against the Holy Ghost, the said Holy Spirit bearing contrary record to his conscience."

* Cald. iii. 810—288, 253. Melville's Diary, p. 175—179. Act. Parl. Scot. iii. 395.

the expectations which had been excited by the circumstances in which it met. In the long list of its acts, consisting of so many ratifications to noblemen and gentlemen who had been lately outlawed, and including the names of hundreds of their retainers, we look in vain for one statute calculated to secure personal or public liberty against the invasions of arbitrary power *. On the other hand it decreed the punishment of death, "to be executed with all rigour," against such as should publicly or privately speak to the reproach of his Majesty's person or government, or should misconstrue his proceedings; and it prohibited, under the pains of sedition, all leagues or bands among the subjects without his Majesty's privity and consent, under whatever pretext they should be made †: although the principal members owed their seats in that parliament to a league of this description, and had recently been charged, by open proclamation, with using those very freedoms against which they now denounced so exemplary a punishment. The despotical acts of Arran's parliament were left untouched; and although some of them were in whole or in part rescinded or disabled by subsequent statutes, yet others continue to this day to disgrace our legal code, and recourse has been had to them, even in modern times, by

* The only act which has the semblance of this is that which relates to charges *super inquirendis*; and all the provision which it makes is, that the charge shall be subscribed by four of the chief officers of state. Act. Parl. Scot. iii. 377.

† Act. Parl. Scot. iii. 375, 376.

high-flying statesmen and court-lawyers to crush opposition to unpopular measures, or to inflict vengeance on those who had incurred their political resentment. It has been remarked, that the lords, after the interprize of Ruthven, "improved the opportunity of insinuating themselves into" the king's "favour with little dexterity *." It appears that they were now convinced of their error; and as they were men by no means destitute of sagacity, their conduct shews what was the most likely way of securing the royal favour.

James was now in the twentieth year of his age; and as he early arrived at maturity, his character had already unfolded itself, and his capacity appeared to greater advantage, and perhaps was really greater, than at any future period of his life †. He possessed a natural quickness of apprehension and fluency of speech, which had an imposing effect, and impressed strangers with an idea of his talents which subsequent acquaintance invariably tended to diminish. He was not deficient in learning, but his knowledge was of that kind which is often attained by persons of high rank but slender in-

* Robertson, Hist. of Scot, ii. 419.

† "Encore (says the French ambassador in a letter to the Marquis de Sillery, October 31. 1606.) qu'un Gentilhomme d'honneur m'ait dit, que tous ceux de cette maison promettent merveille jusqu'a l'age de 20 ans, mais que de-la en avant ils diminuent bien; m'allegnant à ce propos l'exemple du Roi present." He adds, speaking of Prince Henry: "Toutefois ce qui fait contre cela, c'est que celui ci tient beaucoup de sa mere." Ambassades de M. de la Boderie, tom. i. p. 402.

tellect, who have received a good education. The soil being thin but well improved, the abundance of the first crops excited hopes which were not afterwards gratified. The taste which he had contracted for study, and which, to a vigorous and active mind, would have afforded an innocent and agreeable relaxation, only ministered to his vanity, and created a feverish thirst for literary fame, which could be gratified only by courtly adulation. His studies never interfered with his amusements; but they diverted him from the duties of his office, and confirmed and aggravated the errors of his administration. When he should have been learning the art of government he was serving an apprenticeship to the muses; and while his ministers were perverting all the principles of justice, and grinding the faces of his subjects with oppression, he was busied in composing and publishing "rules and cautelis for Scottish poesy *." Having little mind of his own, he was

* James's first publication, which made its appearance during the reign of Arran, is entitled "The Essayes of a Prentise in the Divine art of Poesie. Imprinted at Edinburgh, by Thomas Vautroullier. 1584. Cum Privilegio Regali." Small 4to. P in fours. It consisted of sonnets and other poems, partly original and partly translated; and of "Ane schort treatise conteining some revlis & cautelis to be obseruit & eschewit in Scottis Poesie." This last is in prose. The "Metaphoricall invention of a Tragedie called Phœnix" was intended to commemorate his late favourite, the Duke of Lennox. The paraphrase of a part of Lucan was evidently chosen to convey James's high notions of royal power, and to reflect on his nobility who were then living in England. Having said that all the rivers are supplied from the

moulded by those who were near him, and whom vanity or affection induced him to imitate. Hence the motely and heterogeneous composition of his character—that love of letters which was combined with a passion for low sports and buffoonery; those pretensions to religion which were discredited by vulgar profaneness and the coarsest blasphemy; and those maxims of political wisdom which were mixed up in his speeches and writings with the most undisguised avowal of the principles of absolute authority. The former were instilled into his mind by his early instructors: the latter he drank in from his corrupt favourites and the base companions whom they placed around him. Other princes were in love

ocean, which could suffer no diminution by their conspiring to withhold their waters, he goes on:

> So even sielike: Though subjects do conjure
> For to rebell against their prince and king:
> By leuing him, altho they hope to smure
> That grace which with God maks him for to ring,
> Though by his gifts he shew himself bening
> To help their need and make them thereby gaine,
> Yet lack of them no harm to him doth bring,
> When they to rue their folie shall be faine.

The best way of making the royal pedant to "rue *his* folly" would have been to have left him to live by his sonnets, in which case he would soon have felt that dependence from which many better poets have not been able to save themselves.—James Carmichael, in a letter written from London to the Earl of Angus, Feb. 27. 1585, mentions that "the King's *Poesies*" had just arrived, and "some sentences and verses are not well liked of, as he being a king of great expectation, to whom his birth-right hath destinat and provided great kingdoms. And the verses which are a commentarie to the prose, *Quo duce*," &c. (Cald. ii. p. 745.)

with despotic power: James thought he could demonstrate its reasonableness, and was not satisfied unless he could produce the same conviction in the breasts of others. He employed both the sceptre and the pen in its defence, and those who ventured to oppose his measures, had to encounter the dogmatism of the disputant as well as the wrath of the despot.

Poetry, politics, and divinity, were the three subjects on which his Majesty was fond of displaying his talents. The poets were more disposed to pay their court to him than to contest his merits; there were few politicians at that time who were so bold as to lay down rules to kings, or to question the wisdom of their actions; so that the chief opposition which James met with was from divines, who wanted taste to perceive or politeness to applaud the beauties of his sonnets, insinuated their doubts of the political aphorisms which he gave out, and flatly contradicted his theological dogmas. James, on the contrary, prided himself greatly on his skill in divinity, and verily thought that he could settle a theological question, or make a commentary, or handle a text, better than all the divines of his kingdom. This appeared very conspicuously in the late conferences at Linlithgow. In the same paper in which he disclaimed the right of judging in doctrine, interpretation of Scripture, or heresies, he dogmatized, and interpreted, and created heresies, with the utmost freedom and confidence. And he concluded with throwing down the gauntlet to the whole clerical corps: "Whatsoever I have affirmed, I will offer

me to prove by the word of God, purest ancients, and modern neotericks, and by the example of the best reformed kirks." He gave another display of his passion for polemics soon after the dissolution of the parliament. Having gone to Edinburgh, he attended worship in the High Church. Balcanquhall, in the course of his sermon, advanced something which was derogatory to the authority of bishops; upon which James rose from his seat, and, interrupting the preacher, asked him, what Scripture he had for that assertion. Balcanquhall said, he could bring sufficient proof from Scripture for all that he had asserted. The King denied this, and pledged his kingdom that he would prove the contrary; adding, that it was the practice of the preachers to busy themselves about such causes in the pulpit, but he was aware of their intentions and would look after them. This interlude continued upwards of a quarter of an hour, to the great edification of the audience; after which, James resumed his seat, and heard the sermon to the end. But he was not satisfied with this skirmish. The preacher was sent for to the palace, where his Majesty had the satisfaction of engaging him in close combat for more than an hour *. Not long after this, he signalized himself in a contest with an adversary of a different description. A great number of ministers and other spectators being assembled in Holyroodhouse, James Gordon, a Jesuit, was produced; his Majesty singly entered the lists with

* Henry Widdrington to Secretary Walsingham, January 7. 1585. Cotton MSS. Calig. C. viii. 237.

him, beat that practised disputant from all his defences, and was saluted victor by acclamation *. James has often been accused of cowardice; but, at least, he discovered no lack of courage or keenness in fighting for his civil supremacy against popish priests, and for his ecclesiastical supremacy against presbyterian parsons. In the language of his ancestor,

> He turned and gave them baith their paikis,
> For he durst ding na udir,
>
> Men said.

The conduct of the nobility, in referring the ministers to the king for an answer to their petitions,

* Moyses' Mem. p. 132. Johnstoni Hist. Rer. Brit. p. 125. The Jesuit here referred to was uncle to the Earl of Huntly; and is commonly designed "Jacobus Gordonus *Huntlæus*," to distinguish him from "Jacobus Gordonus *Lesmoræus*," who was also a Scotsman and a controversial writer among the Roman Catholics. Spotswood calls him "a simple man, and not deeply learned." (Hist. p. 306.) But this is a mistake. Gordon was well versed in the controversies of the age, and some of the most distinguished protestant divines did not look on him as a despicable adversary. (Glassii Philol. Sacra Accommod. tom. ii. par i. p. 40, &c.) Charters says, "Peter Blackburn wrote a book against James Gordon the Jesuit." (Short Account of Scots Divines, p. 4. MS. in Adv. Lib.) The following extract from the proceedings of the General Assembly, February 1587, relates to it. "Anent ye disput betwixt Mrs James Gordoun and Peeter blackburne committit to ye revieu of Mr Andro Melvill and certaine brether, the said Mr Andro reportit y^t on ye pairt of ye said Mr James and ye enemies they fand great diligence and sophistrie: alwayes they praised god for ye knowledge gevin to y^r brother, in whose ans^r they had found solid judgement and great licht to ye praise of god and overthrow of ye enemie." (Book of the Universall Kirk, f. 152, a.)

instead of transacting the business themselves, produced another evil beside that of fostering the unhappy disposition which James had contracted for controversy. In their censures of public measures, the preachers had hitherto said nothing which implied a reflection upon the King personally, but had uniformly imputed the faults which they condemned, and the grievances of which they complained, to the advice and influence of his counsellors. What had taken place at Linlithgow, joined to the galling disappointment which they had met with, drove some of them to a different course. In particular, James Gibson, minister of Pencaitland, in a sermon, which he preached in Edinburgh, made use of the following indiscreet language, "I thought that captain James Stewart, lady Jesabel his wife, and William Stewart, had persecuted the church, but now I have found the truth, that it was the King himself: As Jeroboam and his posterity were rooted out for staying of the true worshipping of God, so I fear that if our King continue in his present course he shall be the last of his race." He was immediately brought before the privy council, and having acknowledged the expressions which he had employed, was declared to have incurred the penalty of treason, and imprisoned until further steps were taken against him *. He was afterwards liberated from

* Record of Privy Council, 21st and 23d Dec. 1585. An account of a very curious conversation between the King and the prisoner, before the council, is inserted in Wodrow's Life of Gibson, pp. 2, 3.

prison and laid under suspension by the General Assembly; but as the King was uncommonly sensitive as to personal affronts, and pardoned them with greater difficulty than an attempt upon his crown *, he continued long after to resent the liberty which Gibson had taken with his name †.

Though the parliament had passed an act restoring the ejected professors to their places, Melville found it impossible to resume his academical employment, as the plague had dispersed the students, and the New College had been completely disorganized during his absence. When James Melville fled into England, Adamson assumed the superintendence of its affairs. At first he attempted to ingratiate himself with the young men, by making professions of great respect for their principal; but not succeeding in this he altered his course. He interrogated them on the lectures which they had been accustomed to hear, and the doctrine which they had been taught on particular topics, and made use of the information which he acquired in this way to inflame his Majesty against Melville ‡.

* Ambassades de M. de la Boderie, tom. v. pp. 437, 489.

† Record of Privy Council. Sep. 24. 1586. Buik of Univ. Kirk, ff. 150, 153. Records of Presbytery of Haddington, July 15. 1590. Gibson being apprehended a second time in November 1590, for resuming the exercise of his office, Duncanson, one of the King's chaplains, said that the people were offended that he was so hardly used, while Jesuits were overlooked. James replied that "no Jesuit had wronged his person so much as James Gibson." Cald. iv. 211, 212. Wodrow's Life of Gibson, p. 6.

‡ Discoursing one day on this subject, he exclaimed, "By

The supremacy of the king, and the pre-eminence of bishops, formed the leading features of his own discourses from the chair and the pulpit; a mode of teaching which was extremely acceptable to the King and his courtiers, who, although they often condemned the introduction of state-affairs on such occasions, had no objections to the practice, when it was employed to exalt the prerogative and eulogize their administration. But the students, who were not altogether strangers to such controversies, and were jealous of the bishop, examined the quotations which he made, and the authorities to which he referred in support of his opinions, and triumphantly exposed the infidelities or inaccuracies which they detected *. Other arts of annoyance, such as young men are extremely apt to use against those who have incurred their dislike, were employed by them †; so that the bishop was glad to give up his prelections, and to avail himself of an order of court to leave St Andrews, and supply the place of the ministers who had forsaken the capital ‡.

the Lord God, Sir, (for the bishop did not scruple to encourage his Majesty in his habit of profane swearing) had that enemy to lawful authority remained another half-year, he had pulled the crown off your head by his seditious doctrine: For he taught that kings should come by election, as the multitude pleased to put them up or down." (Cald. iii. 530.)

* Cald. iii. 530.

† Davison to Walsingham, Cotton MSS. Calig. C. vii. 78.

‡ Adamson felt himself exposed to similar affronts at Edinburgh. The council ordered a proclamation, "that nane mak provocation to the archiebischop of Sanctand." He had been called over "to use the pastoral office within the said burgh,"

Irritated by the opposition which he had met with, and averse to the system of theological instruction, he procured a warrant to convert the New College into a school of philosophy, to invest Robertson, who had become subservient to his purposes, with the office of Principal, and to make such other arrangements in it as he should think proper *.

During the winter of the year 1586, James Melville was employed before the Privy Council and Court of Session in getting these deeds reduced, and in taking such other steps as were necessary to restore the college to its former state †. His uncle, in the mean time, took up his residence at Glasgow with his old friend the rector, who had requested his assistance in reorganizing the university in that city. Hay, and the other patrons of the institution, were very urgent that he would remain with them, and resume his former situation, which, owing to the public confusions, had continued vacant since the death of Smeton ‡. To induce him to comply with their request, they offered him the most liberal terms in point of salary, and promised

and certain of the inhabitants had employed "their wives and bairns" to insult him in various ways, pretending ignorance, &c. (Record of Privy Council, Sept. 26, 1584.)

* See Note DD.

† Melville's Diary, p. 180.

‡ On the 10th of January 1585 (i. e. 1586, according to modern computation) Mr Patrick Sharp was nominated and presented to the place of principal of the College of Glasgow, vacant by the decease of Mr Thomas Smeton. (Register of Presentation to Benefices, &c. vol. ii. f. 140.)

to do every thing in their power to render his situation agreeable. But, although he retained a great affection for the college of Glasgow, which he used to call his *eldest bairn*, and was sensible that he had the prospect of enjoying far more personal comfort there than in any other place, yet such were his convictions of the national utility of the new college of St Andrews, as a theological and literary establishment, that he could not think of deserting it, and determined to force himself a second time from Glasgow, against his own inclination and the solicitations of his best friends *. He accordingly returned to St Andrews in the month of March, and recommenced his lectures after an intermission of two years †.

Next to Arran, there was no individual in the nation who was so universally disliked as archbishop Adamson. He had been the chief adviser of the laws which overturned the ecclesiastical discipline. He had lent all the influence of his clerical character and of his episcopal power to the support of the late detestable administration; and he had employed his pen in arraigning the exiled noblemen and ministers as traitors, traducing their characters before the world, and attempting to drive them from the asylum which they had found in England. His disgrace ought to have accompanied the fall of the administration with

* Melvini Epistolæ, pp. 70, 71.
† Melville's Diary, p. 180.

which he had chosen to connect his fortunes. It does not appear that the King ever felt for Adamson that personal favour which he still retained for Arran *; but having resolved to maintain episcopacy, he judged it necessary to protect the archbishop.

James Melville preached at the opening of the provincial synod of Fife which met at St Andrews in April 1586. In the course of the sermon, after discoursing of the scriptural government established in the church of Scotland, the preacher turned to the archbishop, who was sitting with great dignity in the assembly, and charged him with overthrowing this, in violation of his own promises; and then addressing himself to the members of the synod exhorted them to act the part of bold chirurgeons in cutting off such a corrupt member. Adamson complained of this injury; but the synod immediately converted the admonitions of the preacher into formal charges, and put the bishop on his trial. He at first refused to answer, and asserted that it was his prerogative to judge the synod, instead of their sitting in judgment upon his conduct. But, after being repeatedly summoned, he

* The continuance of James's attachment to that worthless favourite after his removal, is mentioned by H. Woddrington in a letter to Secretary Walsingham (Jan. 7. 1585) Cotton MSS. Calig. C. viii. 237. And by the French ambassador in a letter to D'Esneval, Oct. 31. 1586. (Extract of the Dispatches of Courcelles.) It appears also from the circumstance of his not filling up the office of Chancellor, but committing the discharge of its duties to Secretary Maitland, as Vice-Chancellor, which seems to have been an office created for the occasion. (Crawford's Officers of State, pp. 140, 143, 146.)

attended, and gave in objections to their procedure, and answers to the charges brought against him. To the charge of having assumed the exercise of an unlawful office, he replied that he was ready to maintain the lawfulness of episcopacy before the General Assembly; and he defended his conduct in overthrowing the presbyteries, by pleading the acts of parliament, which he dared the synod to impeach. Among other things*, he required that Melville, his nephew, and the Master of Lindsay should be removed as his declared enemies; but the synod allowed them to retain their seats after they had cleared themselves of malice in the usual way. On this ground Adamson protested, and appealed to

* The bishop objected to ruling elders, and professors of universities, who had not received imposition of hands, having a voice in the synod; and in particular to Robert Wilkie, who was chosen moderator. In his answer to the bishop's reasons of appeal, James Melville says: "He distinguisheth the clergy from the laicks. This smelleth of the pride of papistry and arrogancy of the shavelings.—Mr Rot Wilkie was appointed be the act of the reformation of the colleges to teach theology, [Does this mean that Wilkie was appointed one of the professors of the New College?] and to expone the Scriptures, as Origen *in Alexandrina Ecclesia*, being but *Ludimagister*, and yet approved by the best bishops of Palestina before whom he teached in Divinity. Mr Robert Wilkie had been upon the exercise sixteen years before, and at the first erection of the presbyterie of St Andrews be common vote of the brethren elected and ordained an elder of the samen, and hath from that time still laboured in the word and doctrine." (Cald. iii. 869.) Wilkie was at this time a professor in St Leonard's college, and in the month of June following was elected minister and pastor of the congregation of St Andrews. (Record of Kirk Session, penult. June, 1588.)

the General Assembly. Notwithstanding this, the synod proceeded, found Adamson guilty, and ordered him to be excommunicated, which was immediately done, at their appointment, by Andrew Hunter, minister of Carnbee. As soon as the synod was dissolved, the archbishop drew up an excommunication of Melville and some other ministers, which he caused his servants to read in the church; and addressed a complaint and appeal to the King, the privy council, and the estates *.

Without denying that Adamson merited the censure inflicted on him, I cannot help thinking that the procedure of the synod was precipitant and irregular. The manner in which James Melville introduced the affair was certainly a material prejudging of the cause. There is reason to think that his uncle was not a stranger to the manner in which he was to act. At any rate, both had suffered severely from the bishop; and although this does not prove that they had conceived malice against him, and might not warrant the synod to exclude them from a voice in the trial, yet their voluntarily declining to act as judges, would have given an appearance of greater decorum and impartiality to the process. In

* Cald. iii. 858—865. Melville's Diary, pp. 180—182. Spots. 345—6. "April 26. 1586. Bishop of St Andr excommunication, q'lk was acted in tyff, to be intimat and registrat." (Abstract of Records of Presbytery of Edinburgh. Wodrow. MSS. Advoc. Lib. vol. 21. 4to.) Adamson himself appears to say that the sentence against him was intimated through the kingdom. (Epist. ad Jac. Reg. ante Paraph. Jobi.)

fine, to gain in any due measure the end proposed, it was fit that the sentence should have higher authority than that of a provincial synod, and that the cause should have been referred to the General Assembly, especially as the bishop had appealed to that judicature. But the truth seems to be, that the ministers were afraid that the ensuing meeting of Assembly would be overawed by the King, who had summoned it, and in whose presence it was to be held. It is probable, too, that the general odium under which Adamson lay at this time among the principal gentlemen of the county, pushed on the synod to adopt such hasty and decisive measures against him *.

It has been said, that "the personal emulation between Melville and Adamson" mingled with the disputes of the church, and heightened them. I

* "The bishop is marvilouslie hated of all the protestants, his life very slanderous and shamfull that its feared that yf the k. stand in his defence, as hitherto he doth, that yt will alienate many mens harts or make them judge hardly of him. ffull resolucon ys taken by all the gentlemē of the ffife and the borough townes about them to stand with their ministers and other that have dealt in this cause agaynst the Bishop.—At a word I never harde man worce spoken of. ther is a legend wryten of his life, the nearest to that of the abbot of Clunye, that was wryten of the death of the Cardinall of Lorrayne, that may be." (Randolph to Walsingham, April 22. 1586. Cotton MSS. Calig. C. ix. iii.)

The following notice appears to be taken from a diary written at the time. "Upon the 16 of Aprile, Patrick, archbishop of Sanct Andrews, was stricken be the Master of Lindsay & Thomas Scott of Abbotshall, and was excommunicated be the ministers. Whereupon both the strickers & excommunicaters were summoned." (Calderwood, iii. 878.)

confess I have not met with any thing, either in the conduct of Melville or of the bishop, which warrants this conclusion. But it is reasonable to suppose that personal offences had arisen from their being so often opposed to one another on public questions; and their mutual alienation must have been greatly increased by what happened during Melville's banishment. If we are to believe Adamson, the Melvilles, not contented with directing the highest censures of the church against him, were concerned in a conspiracy against his life *. He wrote to the King, that James Melville had travelled through the country to excite the gentlemen against him, and that his uncle had convened them in the college, and instigated them by a violent harangue to make an assault on his person. James Melville, on the other hand, informs us, that, at the time referred to, he was confined to his bed with a fever, and he gives the following account of what relates to his uncle. The bishop, to testify his contempt for the sentence of the synod, determined to preach on the

* To this the bishop refers in the following words, quoted by his biographer: "Adjuro te, Melvine, per bifurcatã tuam frontem per tumentes venas, per ardentes oculos, &c. quo die *Barrimontium* conscendisti, Quæ tua mens? quis ille animus? quis ardor oculi? quæ tuæ nefariæ atque impiæ conjurationes cũ sceleratis tuis & perditis latronibus undiquaq coactis, & in scelus omne propensis, in caput nostrum conjurantibus? Ecce duo gladii hic, unus ad excommunicandum, alter ad interficiendum." (Tho. Volusenus, Vita Patricii Adamsoni, p. 6.)

By *Barrimontium* we are probably to understand *Bairnmont*, a place in the neighbourhood of St Andrews, where it is alleged, the conspiracy against the bishop was formed.

Sabbath after it was pronounced. Such of the people as scrupled to hear an excommunicated person repaired to the religious exercises in the New College. It happened that the laird of Lundie had come to St Andrews the same day on business, and that he went also to hear Melville, accompanied by his friends and usual retinue. Some individual who observed the crowd thronging into the college, went and told Adamson, as he was entering the parish church, that a number of gentlemen from all parts of the country were assembled, and intended to take him out of the pulpit and hang him. The bishop, whose courage was not equal to his ambition, was struck with a sudden panic, collected his servants around him, and not thinking himself safe in the church, took refuge in the belfry, from which the magistrates with great difficulty persuaded him to descend, by promising to escort him home in safety, and assuring him that there was not the slightest appearance of tumult or danger *.

When Adamson's cause came before the General Assembly, which met at Edinburgh on the 10th of May †, it was agreed to wave the formal considera-

* Adamson, De Pastoris Munere, pp. 68—9. et Vita ejus adject. p. 6. Lond. 1619. 12mo. Melville's Diary, p. 182.

† This meeting of the General Assembly was called by a royal proclamation, which declared that the members should incur no danger, "notwithstanding any lawes &c. maid in the contrair." (Rec. of Privy Council, April 5. 1586.) Before proceeding to choose their moderator, the members received a message to come down to the Royal Chapel, with which they complied, after protesting that this should not prejudge their liberties. James

tion both of the sentence and the appeal, and to remove the excommunication, upon condition that the bishop subscribed a submission which was prescribed to him. By this he disclaimed all supremacy over the synod of Fife, and all right to judge other pastors or ministers, and declared, that, if he had claimed this, he had done wrong, and craved pardon for his oversight and imperious behaviour; and he promised to conduct himself for the future as a moderate pastor, and to submit his life and doctrine to the trial and censure of the General Assembly, without reclaiming or appealing from its determinations. This declaration having been subscribed by Adamson, the assembly, "to give testimony with what good will they would obey his highness so far as they might and ought," without judging of the appeal or condemning the synod, declared, that "they held the said process and sentence as unled, undeduced, or unpronounced, and restored the said bishop to the state he was in immediately before, provided always he observed his promises and behaved himself dutifully *."

having taken his place at the head of a table around which the members were seated, entertained them with a harangue, and then dismissed them to their ordinary house. (Cald. iii. 881.)

* Buik of Univ. Kirk, f. 141. Cald. iii. 899—900. Spotswood represents Melville and Thomas Buchanan as adhering to the protest of Hunter against the sentence of the assembly. (Hist. p. 347.) This is a mistake. The fact is correctly stated, from the minutes, in printed Calderwood, pp. 210, 211. The bishop, in his narrative, passes over one circumstance which he could scarcely have forgotten, viz. that in the list of those who

Archbishop Spotswood expresses his surprize that Adamson should have submitted to terms so derogatory to his episcopal authority; and he insinuates that the King temporized, in the hopes that he would be able at a future period to restore the bishops to their legitimate power. The conduct of James gives too much ground for suspecting him of such views. But so far were the court from thinking that they had pledged themselves too far, that they regarded what they had accomplished as a victory; and the act of assembly restoring Adamson, in which his submission was embodied, was triumphantly proclaimed at the market-cross of Edinburgh by sound of trumpet *.

The King had, in the month of February, called together certain ministers, whom he judged more moderate than the rest, to confer with a deputation from the privy council, on the subject of the ecclesiastical polity. Their consent was obtained to a species of episcopacy, although of a very limited sort. The result of this conference was now laid before the General Assembly, and all the influence of the court was employed to procure its ratification †. The King's commissioners protested that if it was not simply adopted, his Majesty would retract his con-

opposed the absolution of Adamson, is the name of *John Spotswood*. (Cald. iii. 910.)

* Melville's Diary, p. 183.

† It appears from Cotton MSS. Calig. C. ix. 60, and Cald. iii. 855—857, that the resolutions of this conference are correctly given in the printed Calderwood, pp. 197—199.

cessions, and leave the late acts of parliament to be carried into execution. Notwithstanding this threat, the assembly entered upon the examination of the articles laid before them. They declared that bishops were not superior to other pastors; and being asked, if they would not allow them a pre-eminence in respect of order, though not of jurisdiction, they answered, that "it could not stand with the word of God, only they must tolerate it, in case it be forced upon them." After several conferences with the court, it was at last agreed, that until presbyteries were better constituted, and the General Assembly should take further order in the matter, bishops should admit ministers with the consent of the majority of the members of the presbytery, or of assessors to be given them; that they should preside in the presbyteries within which they resided *; and be subject to be tried and censured by the General Assembly only, or by commissioners whom it should appoint for that purpose. At the same time presbyteries were ordered to be re-established, and some of the leading articles in the second book of Discipline, concerning ecclesiastical jurisdiction, and the powers of general, provincial, presbyterial, and sessional assemblies, were agreed to with the consent of his Majesty †. Upon the whole,

* Robert Wilkie was appointed moderator of the presbytery of St Andrews instead of Bishop Adamson.

† Burk of Univ. Kirk, f. 143. Harl. MSS. num. 7004, 6. Cald. iii. 902—905. Spotswood says, "In the mean time was the order of presbyteries set down, and their power defined, *the*

though the proceedings of this assembly were somewhat at variance with former acts of the church, yet the approbation given to them by the court unquestionably paved the way for the downfal of the bishops, and the establishment of presbytery.

Melville was employed by this assembly to write in their name to the French protestant ministers, who had obtained his Majesty's license to reside in Scotland during the continuance of persecution in their native country, and to assure them that the assembly would do every thing in their power to render their exile agreeable. The letter was delivered to Monsieur du Moulin, who had already arrived, and who remained for some years in Scotland *.

king taking no notice of their doings in that kind?" (Hist p. 348.) So far was this from being the case, that the platform of presbyteries entered into the register of this assembly is expressly said to have been "presentit be my Lord Clerk of Register, and sett downe be his Lo. travells." And with respect to their power, the commissioners deputed to wait on the King, reported that "in the haill heads fund, little difficulty except [a little difficulty excepted, *Cald.*] qlk is noted with his Ma. hand, his G. aggried." Buik of Univ. Kirk, ff. 143, a. 144, a.)

* Buik of the Universall Kirk, ff. 140, b. 141, a. Joachim du Moulin, minister of Orleans, and father of the celebrated Pierre du Moulin, minister of Paris, appears to be the individual referred to. The Magistrates of Edinburgh not only allowed the French refugees to meet for worship in the common-hall of the college, but allotted stipends to their ministers. (Reg. of Town Council, May 11, 1586.) Collections for them and their brethren in England were made in the different parishes. (Rec. of Kirk Session of St And. Dec. 20, 1587; and Extracts from Records of Kirk Session of Glasgow, May 23, 1588: in Wodrow's Life of David Weemes, p. 26.)—"Also the said Jamis (Lamb) delyverit the warrand from the Synodall for the ingaddering of the support

The relaxation of Adamson from ecclesiastical censure was followed by Melville's being laid under civil restraint. That the archbishop might return to St Andrews with suitable eclat, and recover his lost reputation, it was judged necessary that his rival should be removed for some time with as little noise as possible. On the dissolution of the General Assembly, Melville was sent for to the palace, and after being graciously received and allowed to kiss the King's hand, was told that his services in the university would be dispensed with for a season, and he might spend his time in his native place until his Majesty was pleased to recal him. Lest he should refuse compliance with this intimation, he was served, on quitting the palace, with a written charge to confine himself beyond the water of Tay *. The bishop was appointed, beside preaching, to read a Latin lecture in St Salvator's College, which all the members of the university were enjoined to grace with their presence. In consequence of this the principal duties of the New College were a second time devolved on James Melville. The university sent a deputation to the King, consisting of the dean of faculty and a professor from each college, to solicit Melville's restoration, as a measure necessary to the prosperity of the academy, and conducive to the honour of his Majesty and the nation. James testified his willingness to gratify

to Mr Mwling banest out of France." (Record of Presbytery of Haddington, Oct. 18, 1589.)

* See Note EE.

them, provided the bishop was reverently used. But although all the security for this that could be required was given, the answer of the request was delayed; and Melville owed his liberty at last to that secret influence which is often exerted by the meanest persons about weak and arbitrary princes. The King spent the summer at Falkland in his favourite employment of hunting and hawking. He sent several times for James Melville, who was surprized to find that his Majesty, after conversing with him on ordinary topics, always left him in company with the master of his hawks. It turned out that this important personage had a friend who was a tenant of the New College, and who wished to have his lease renewed at the old rent; and James Melville was given to understand that, provided this was granted, his uncle would immediately be set at liberty. The masters were extremely averse to injure the revenues of the college to gratify such a minion; but there was no remedy, and the King having pledged his word that he would compensate the loss doubly *, the lease was subscribed and put into the hands of the hawk-master. Upon this, orders were issued for the liberation of Melville, who coming to Falkland, was introduced by the Master of Gray, and after a free conversation with his Majesty, was restored to favour, and sent home to his college †.

* A gift of certain prebendaries &c. to the New College of St Andrews passed the Great Seal, on the last day of January 1586. It was confirmed in the subsequent Parliament. Act. Parl. Scot. iii. 488.

† Melville's Diary, pp. 183—185.

Melville resumed his academical labours, which had been so long interrupted, with uncommon ardour, and the consequence was, that the bishop's prelections fell into disesteem and neglect. Adamson was still more mortified by the desertion of his pulpit discourses, in consequence of numbers leaving the parish church when he officiated, and attending sermon in the chapel belonging to the theological college. To prevent this he had recourse to a measure which was a sure proof of his declining popularity. A mandate came from court, prohibiting the masters of the New College from preaching in English, and confining their instructions on Sabbath as well as on other days to the Latin tongue*.

Great occasion has been taken to asperse the church of Scotland, from the circumstance of some of the ministers having refused to obey the King's order to pray for his mother, when she was under sentence of death. They might be too squeamish; but had James been less imperious, and more mindful of his disclaimer of all interference with the immediate acts of worship, he might have obtained ample satisfaction on this head. An act of council was made prescribing the form of prayer; all ministers were charged by public proclamation to use it on pain of incurring his Majesty's displeasure; and commissioners and superintendents were commanded to suspend from preaching such as refused†. None of the ministers re-

* See Note FF.

† Record of Privy Council, Feb. 1. 1586.

fused to pray for the Queen. The scruples of those who hesitated to comply with the order of the court rested upon the manner in which it was issued, and its implying, in their opinion, that Mary was innocent of the crime for which she was condemned to die*. They had not been accustomed, like the English clergy, to pray by book, or to frame their addresses to the Almighty in words which courtiers might be pleased to dictate to them, and to offer them up like criminals under the terrors of suspension. They had long entertained an unfavourable opinion of Mary; they had at different times been alarmed for the security of their religion by plans laid for her restoration; and many of them were convinced of her accession to the conspiracy of Babington against

* Cald. iv. 9. The only recusant specified by Spotswood (Hist. p. 354.) is Mr John Cowper, "a young man not entered as yet in the function." It is quite evident, from his narrative of that case, that the archbishop had the Record of Privy Council before him. But he has introduced circumstances not warranted by that record, and which, if true, it would scarcely have failed to mention. It says nothing of the King's giving the preacher liberty to proceed with the service, provided he would obey the charge and remember the Queen in his prayers; nor of Cowper's replying, that he would do as the spirit of God should direct him. Cowper was not imprisoned for refusing or declining to pray for the Queen, but (as the minute expresses it) "becaus his Matie desyrit him to stay efter he had begwn his prayer in the pulpit w'in sanct geills kirk in Edinburgh, declaring that y' was ane vther appoyntit to occupy that rewme, that he vtterit thir words following, That ar to say, That this day suld bere witnes aganis his Matie in the grett day of the Lord;" and denounced a woe against the inhabitants of Edinburgh. (Record of Privy Council, Feb. 3. 1586.)

Elizabeth. But the truth is that few of them refused to pray for the preservation of her life *. The order for this was not intimated at St Andrews until the very day of her execution, and it was immediately complied with †. But the worst feature in the affair is, that there is great reason to suspect that James wished the ministers to act a part in the solemn farce along with himself and Elizabeth. While he was issuing orders to offer up prayers for his mother's preservation, and summoning, imprisoning, and silencing ministers for disobeying these ‡,

* Spotswood says, "Of all the number, Mr David Lindesay at Leith and the King's own ministers gave obedience. (Hist. p. 354.) The native inference from this is that Spotswood himself did not "give obedience;" for he was one of "the number." But Courcelles, the French ambassador, who was then in Scotland, and took a particular interest in the affair, informs us, that even those who at first refused, yielded. (Letter to Henry iii. Feb. 28. 1587.)

† "Die mercurii viii. fe^rii año lxxx. sexto. The quhilk day comperit M. Patrick Adamsoun, bishop of St And^s allegeand him to haif an verbal direction of the Kingis maiestie to desyre the minister and redar to pray publiclie for his hienes mother for hir conversioun and amendment of lyfe, and if it be godis plesor to preserve hir from this present danger q^r in sche is now, that sche may heir efter be ane profitabill member in chrystis kirk. The session presentlie assemblit being sufficientlie resoluit heirwith hes concludit that the minister at ilk sermone and the redar at ilk time quhen he sayis prayers, pray publiclie for the kingis g. mother as is desyrit." (Record of Kirk Session of St Andrews.)

‡ The two ministers of Aberdeen were brought twice all the way to Edinburgh, on a charge of disobeying the King's order. When they appeared before the privy council, it turned out that they were innocent; but, to save James's honour, one of them was obliged to make a declaration from the pulpit, on his return. (Record of Privy Council, March 25, and May 19. 1587.)

strong presumptions are not wanting, that his grief for her fate, and his indignation at Elizabeth's conduct, were in a great degree affected and hypocritical *. It is certain, at least, that they were

* Lord Hamilton having been employed by Courcelles, the French ambassador, to speak to James of his mother's danger; "The kings answere was, that the Queene, his mother, might well drink the ale and beere which her selfe had brewed; ffurther that having bound her selfe to the Queene of England to doe nothing againste her, she ought to have kept her promise: notwithstandinge that he woulde no waye faile in his dutie and naturall obligatione he ought her." To Sir George Douglas, who represented to him how discreditable it would be to him to allow Elizabeth to put his mother to death, the king said that he knew "she bore him no more good will than she did the Queene of England—and that in truth it was meete for her to meddle with nothing but prayer and servinge of God." Earl Bothwell, being asked by the King what he should do if Elizabeth asked his consent to proceed against his mother, said, "yf he did suffer it he were worthie to be hanged the nexte daye after; whereat the King laughed and said, he would provid for that." (Courcelles to the King of France, Oct. 4. 1586.) "The nobilitie believe indeed that ther is some secrete intelligence betweene the Queene of Englande and the Kinge, which is the rather confirmed becaus the King's Secretare and Grawe were onlie made privie to the said Keiths instructiones," &c. (Same to same, Nov. 30.) The Master of Gray's embassy confirms them in this opinion, "and that the Kinge of Scotts will not declare him selfe openly against her (Elizabeth) though his mother be put to deash, vnlesse the Queene and the Statts would deprive him of his right to that crowne, which himselfe hath vttered to Earle Bothewill and Chevaleire Seaton." (Dec. 31.) Alexander Stewart, sent in the company of the ambassadors "with more secret charge," had said to Elizabeth, "were she even deade, yf the king at first shewed him selfe not contented therewith they might easily satisfy him in sending him doges and deare." On being informed of this, "the king was in marvilose collere and sware and protested

neither deep nor lasting. One proof of this, among many others, may be mentioned. Soon after the execution of Mary, Melville happened to be introduced to his Majesty. James appeared to be in great spirits; laughed, and frisked, and danced about the room, in the way usual with him in his early years. The contrast between this levity and the sable attire of the company and apartment struck Melville's fancy, and suggested to him the manner in which Mary was said to have mourned for the murder of her

before God that yf Steuard came he would hange him before he putt off his bootes, and yf the Queene medled with his mothers life, she should knowe he would follow somewhat else then dogges and deare." (Feb. 10.) Courcelles expresses his fears that if Mary's execution should happen, James would "digeste it as pattently as he hath done that which passed between the Queene of England and Alexander Stuard, whose excuse he hath well allowed, and vseth the man as well as before." (Feb. 28.) On the arrival of the intelligence of Mary's execution, Courcelles "believeth in truth that the king is greatly afflicted with this accidente." (March 8.) But when Gray was banished, the Queen's death was not mentioned among the grounds, "lest he should have accused others." And when the Estates twice requested the King to revenge his mother's death, and offered their lives and fortunes in the cause, he merely "thanked them, and said he would open his intentions afterwards" (June 6, and August—)

The above quotations are made from "Ane Extracte gathered out of Monsieur Courcelles Negociation in Scotland from 4th October 1586, to 28th September 1587:" in the possession of the Right Honourable the Marquis of Lothian. This is, I presume, the same with that in Cotton MSS. Cal. C. ix. 233.—It is very singular that nearly a month should have elapsed before Mary's execution was known at Edinburgh. When Stirling was taken by the banished lords in 1585, Elizabeth's ministers at London had intelligence of the fact within forty-eight hours. (Melville's Diary, p. 165.)

husband. He expressed his feelings, in an *impromptu*, to a gentleman who sat beside him. The King seeing the gentleman smile, came forward and eagerly enquired the cause of his mirth. The gentleman excused himself, saying, that a sally of the Principal's humour had extorted a smile from him. Melville also wished to evade gratifying the King's curiosity; but James insisting on his demand, and assuring him that he would not resent any freedom that might have been used, he repeated the lines:

Quid sibi vult tantus lugubri sub veste cachinnus?
Scilicet hic matrem deflet, ut ille patrem *.

In the course of this year, Guillaume de Saluste, Sieur du Bartas, the celebrated French poet, visited Scotland. The King, in his late work, had published a translation of the *Uranie* of du Bartas, and had invited him, at this time, to his dominions, with the view of engaging him to return the compliment by translating some of his *Scottis poesie* into the French language†. Henry IV. then king of Navarre,

* Wodrow's life of Andrew Melville, p. 52. MSS vol. i. —Two copies of verses on Queen Mary, by Melville, are inserted in Jonstoni Inscriptiones Historicæ Regvm Scotorvm, p. 58. Amstel. 1602. The following lines, which he composed on her execution, have not been printed.

Si Scotam Angla ferit, Mariam si mactat Eliza,
Reginam Regina necat, cognata propinquam;
Ecquid agas Mariæque hæres, hæres et Elizæ?
Non abeunt, non adveniunt sine sanguine regna.
Archib. Simsoni Annal. Eccl. Scotic.
MS. p. 47.

† Courcelles's tenth dispatch to the French King, June 24.

availed himself of this opportunity, by providing the poet with a letter of credence to the King of Scots, and secret instructions to secure his assistance, by proposing a marriage with his sister, the princess of Navarre. A more wise choice could not have been made; for James was flattered by the visit of a man of genius, and felt disposed to concede to his representations what he might have denied to a professional, though more dignified, negociator *.

1587. Du Bartas did translate one of James's poems into French heroics, and added very grateful encomiums on the "Scots Phœnix," so he calls him. "La Lepanthe de Jaques vi. Roy D'Ecosse, Faicte Francoise par le Sieur Du Bartas. Imprimé a Edinbvrg par Robert Walde-grave, Imprimeur du Roy. Anno. Dom 1591. Avec Privilege de sa Majesté." 4to. 14 leaves. It was printed, along with the original, in *His Majesties Poeticall Exercises.*

* James denied to Courcelles that the king of Navarre had requested military aid. "He (James) will not assist rebellious subjects against their Soveraigne, a thing commendable neither before God nor man, and of evil example to all the world." The "Lord of Weimes" (he added) was going, with 10 or 12 gentlemen, to accompany the king of Navarre in hunting, but to have "nothing to do with war." But it is evident that the ambassador did not place implicit confidence in his Majesty's word, which he had already found reason to suspect. (Courcelles's 11th Dispatch, compared with his 6th.)

"The Kinge, besides all his costes wch he defraied, gratefyed Dubartas at his departure with a Chaine of 1000 li. and as much in redie money, made him knight, and accompanyed him to the sea side, where he made him promise to retourn again." (13th Dispatch, Sept. 25, 1587.) Lord Tungland accompanied him to France, to bring James's report of the Princess of Navarre. (Ibid. and Sir James Melville's Mem. p. 177.) The Princess rejected the match in consequence of her ardent attachment to the Comte de Soissons. (Memoires de M. du Plessis, tom. i. p. 656. Vie de M. du Bartas, p. 122.)

In the end of June his Majesty accompanied du Bartas to St Andrews. On his arrival he came to the New College, and intimated, that he would return in the course of an hour, along with his learned French friend, to hear a lecture. Melville said he had already read his ordinary lecture, and was quite unprepared for such illustrious auditors; but the King would take no excuse. Accordingly, the university being assembled, Melville delivered an extempore discourse, which gave satisfaction to all the hearers, except his Majesty, who considered some parts of it as levelled against his favourite notions of church-government. Next day, the bishop feasted the King and du Bartas. Previous to this, he pronounced an elaborate discourse, containing the substance of his late lectures in support of prelacy and the ecclesiastical supremacy of princes. Melville attended on the occasion, and was observed to take notes during the delivery of the discourse. When it was over, he caused the college bell to be rung, and sent information to the royal party, that he intended to prelect in the course of two hours. Suspecting his intention, James sent one of his attendants to warn him, that if he did not keep within the bounds of moderation, and of the respect due to his presence, he would again discharge him from teaching. Melville replied, that he would endeavour to counteract the effects of poisonous doctrine at the risk of his life, but, so far as was consistent with what he owed to truth, he would be most tender of his Majesty's honour. James sent a second messenger

to say, that he depended on the Principal's promise, and meant to take his afternoon's repast with him in the college. At the hour appointed, the hall was crowded with auditors, among whom were the King, du Bartas, and the bishop, who, expecting to be attacked, had obtained liberty to defend himself. Melville took no notice of the discourse which was delivered in the morning, but quoted from popish books, which he had brought along with him, the leading positions and arguments which the bishop had laid down; and then, as if he had to do only with Roman Catholics, proceeded to overthrow them "with such inimitable force of reason, and flood of eloquence, that the bishop was dashed, and stricken as dumb as the stock he sat upon." His Majesty afterwards made a speech in English, interposed some scholastic *distinguos*, and concluded with enjoining the members of the university to respect and obey the bishop. He then partook of an entertainment in the college and retired*. Du Bartas remained behind to converse with Melville. In the evening James desired to know his visitor's opinion of the two discourses which he had heard. Du Bartas said, they were both learned, but the bishop's was prepared and dressed for the occasion, whereas the Principal's discovered a vast store of various learning; "besides (added he) he has far

* "The king with Monsieur du Bartas came to the college hall, where I caused prepear and hail in readiness a banquet of wat and dry confectiones with all sorts of wyne; whereat his Mall' *camped* verie merrilie a guid whill." Melville's Diary, p. 158.

more spirit and courage than the other." In this judgment his Majesty acquiesced *.

Melville was chosen moderator of the General Assembly held in June 1587, and appointed one of their commissioners to the ensuing meeting of parliament †. At this parliament the temporal lands of bishoprics, abbacies, and priories were annexed to the crown; a measure which paved the way for the abolition of episcopacy. It virtually divested the bishops of their right to sit in the national judicature, which was founded on their baronial possessions; and, consequently, it removed the principal plea upon which the court had hitherto upheld them in opposition to the unequivocal and decided sentiments of the church. Existing solely by the favour of the prince, and dreading the entire suppression of their order, the bishops silently acquiesced in a measure which stripped them of such valuable possessions, and left them exposed to the persevering attacks of their adversaries ‡.

In the beginning of the year 1588, Melville took a very active part in arousing the nation to a sense of its danger from the threatened Spanish Armada.

* Melville's Diary, pp. 168—70. Wodrow's Life of Andrew Melville, pp. 52, 53. Adamson's son-in-law says that his discourse before the King and the Bartas was *extempore*. (Vita Patr. Adamsoni, p. 9.)

† "By this assembly," Mr Andro Melvill was ordained to pen a favourable writing to the ministerie in Danskine (Dantzic) congratulating their embracing of the treuth in the matter of the sacramentis." (Buik of Univ. Kirk, f. 148, b.) They had rejected the Lutheran doctrine of *consubstantiation*. Bibliotheca Reformata, Class. vi. p. 1147.

James had received timely warning of the hostile intentions of the king of Spain, and of the correspondence which he maintained with Scotland; but he testified no disposition to adopt the precautions necessary to avert the danger which menaced his dominions*. He was busy commenting on the Apocalypse, and demonstrating, by arguments drawn from that book, that the pope was antichrist; while Jesuits and seminary priests were seducing his subjects from their allegiance, and preparing them for revolt on the first appearance of a foreign force†. So bold and powerful was the faction devoted to Spain and Rome, that they obtained a protection for these dangerous emissaries to remain in the country, and engage in a plot to banish or massacre the protestant courtiers‡. In these circumstances, Melville, in virtue of the powers vested in him as moderator, called an extraordinary meeting of the General Assembly. He opened the deliberations with an animated address, in which he acquainted the members with his reasons for convening them. The alarming crisis had produced an unusual concourse, and all were actuated with the same spirit. It was agreed that the bishops, burgesses, and ministers, should meet apart, to consult on the dangers which hung over the church and commonwealth, and on the best means of providing against them. A deputation

* Courcelles's 6th Dispatch to the French King, May 12, 1587.

† Melville's Diary, p. 191.

‡ Cotton MSS. Cal. D. i. 98. Gordon's Hist. of the Earldom of Sutherland, pp. 210—212. Moyses' Mem. pp. 150, 154.

was appointed to lay the result of their consultations before the King, and to make him an offer of their lives and fortunes. James regarded this as an interference with his administration, and an implicit censure upon his past conduct, but as the soundness of their advice was undeniable, he thanked them for their zeal, and nominated a committee of privy council to meet with them and concert common measures for the public safety. The consequences of this co-operation were of the happiest kind. Among other steps that were taken, a solemn bond of allegiance and mutual defence, approved by his Majesty, and zealously promoted by the ministers of the church, was sworn by all ranks. In this they protested that the reformed religion and his Majesty's estate had the same friends and foes, and engaged that they would defend and maintain them against all plots and preparations, foreign or domestic, and particularly the threatened invasion: that they would assist in the discovery of Jesuits, and other vassals of Rome; that they would assemble at his Majesty's command, and hazard their lives, lands and goods, in resisting the common enemy; and that they would lay aside all private feuds, and submit every difference that might arise among them in the mean time, to the judgment of arbiters to be chosen by the King *.

* Book of Univ. Kirk, ff. 150—152. Printed Calderwood, pp. 224—226. Spotswood passes over this transaction entirely. Dr Robertson has confounded this *Band* with the *National Covenant* which was sworn in 1580, and to which the present deed may be considered as an appendage. (Hist. of Scotland, vol. iii. b. vii. p. 83.)

James Melville had left the university of St Andrews, and was now minister of Anstruther, a maritime town on the south-east coast of Fife. Early one morning, before the overthrow of the Armado was known in Scotland, one of the baillies of the town appeared at his bed-side, and informed him that a ship, filled with Spaniards, had entered their harbour; adding, to deliver him from apprehensions, that they were come "not to give mercy but to ask," and that the magistrates desired his advice how to act towards them. The principal inhabitants having convened, it was agreed, after consultation, to give audience to the commander, and that their minister, who had some acquaintance with the Spanish language, should convey to him the sentiments of the town. Intimation of this having been sent to the vessel, a venerable old man, of large stature, and martial countenance, entered the town-hall, and making a profound bow, and touching the minister's shoe with his hand, addressed him in Spanish. 'His name was Jan Gomes de Medina; he was commander of twenty hulks, being part of the grand fleet which his master, Philip King of Spain, had fitted out to revenge the insufferable insults which he had received from the English nation; but God, on account of their sins, had fought against them, and dispersed them by a storm; the vessels under his command had been separated from the main fleet, driven on the north coast of Scotland, and shipwrecked on the Fair Isle; and, after escaping the merciless waves and rocks, and enduring great hardships from hunger and cold,

he, and such of his men as were preserved, had made their way, in their only remaining bark, to this place, intending to seek assistance from their good friends and confederates, the Scots, and to kiss his Majesty's hand, (making another profound bow) from whom he expected relief and comfort to himself, his officers, and poor men, whose condition was most pitiable.' When James Melville was about to reply in Latin, a young man, who acted as interpreter, repeated his master's speech in English. The minister then addressed the admiral. 'On the score of friendship, or of the cause in which they were embarked, the Spaniards (he said) had no claims on them; the king of Spain was a sworn vassal to the bishop of Rome, and on that ground they and their King defied him; and with respect to England the Scots were indissolubly leagued with that kingdom, and regarded an attack upon it as the same with an attack on themselves: But although this was the case, they looked upon them, in their present situation, as men and fellow creatures labouring under privations and sufferings to which they themselves were liable; and they rejoiced at an opportunity of testifying how superior their religion was to that of their enemies: Many Scotsmen who had resorted to Spain for the purposes of trade and commerce had been thrown into prison as heretics, their property confiscated, and their bodies committed to the flames; but so far from retaliating such cruelties on them, they would give them every kind of relief and comfort which was in their power, leaving it to God to work such

a change on their hearts respecting religion as he pleased.' This answer being reported, by the interpreter, to the Spanish admiral, he returned most humble thanks; adding, that he could not answer for the laws and practices of his church, but as for himself there were many in Scotland, and perhaps some in that very town, who could attest that he had treated them with favour and courtesy. After this, the admiral and his officers were conveyed to lodgings, which had been provided for them, and were hospitably entertained by the magistrates and neighbouring gentlemen, until they obtained a licence and protection from his Majesty to return home *. Before their departure James Melville received a printed account of the complete destruction of the Armado, with the names of the principal persons who had perished in the wreck of the galleots on the coasts of Wales, Ireland, and Scotland. On this being imparted to Jan Gomes, the tears flowed down the furrowed cheeks of the hardy veteran.

The sequel of the story must not be suppressed. Some time after this, a vessel belonging to Anstruther was arrested in a Spanish port. Don Jan Gomes was no sooner informed of this than he posted to court, and obtained her release from the king, to whom he spoke in the highest terms of the

* The names of the officers were "Capitan Patricio, Capitan de Legaretto, Capitan de Sufliera, Capitan Mauritio, and Seignour Serrano." The privates "to the number of threttin score, for the maist part young berdles men, sillie, trauchled and hungred," were supplied with "keall, pottage and fishe." Melville's Diary, p. 193.

humanity and hospitality of the Scots. He invited the ship's company to his house, inquired kindly after his acquaintances in the good town of Anstruther, and sent his warmest commendations to their minister and other individuals to whom he considered himself as most particularly indebted *. The mind feels relieved in turning from "the battle of the warrior, with its confused noise, and garments rolled in blood," to contemplate the image of him who is "a strength to the poor, a strength to the needy in his distress, a shadow from the heat, a refuge from the storm, when the blast of the terrible is as a storm against the wall." It is pleasing to perceive the ardent zeal of our ancestors against popish errors not interfering with the calls of humanity and charity; and it is consolatory to find that there have always been examples of generosity and of gratitude, in a country which Superstition has chosen for her favourite abode, and where Bigotry has so long maintained her intolerant, degrading, and most frightful reign.

The signal overthrow of the Spanish armament did not repress the fiery zeal of the papists in Scotland. During the year 1589 they were indefatigable in extending their conspiracy among the nobility; and their agents urged Philip, and the Duke of Parma, his general in the Low Countries, to send an army directly to Scotland, as the best method of invading the dominions of the English Queen. An assembly of the chief ministers was again called;

* Melville's Diary, pp. 192—194.

Thomas Craig and other eminent lawyers assisted at their deliberations; and the wise and vigorous measures which they recommended, enabled the government to suppress the insurrection made by the popish lords on the discovery of their traitorous correspondence. Melville took the lead in this affair; and was chosen moderator of the assembly, to which his nephew acted as clerk *.

It was at this time that the variance which had long subsisted between the court and the church began to be removed. This was chiefly owing to the prudence of the Chancellor Maitland. That able statesman had commenced his political career unhappily under the administration of Arran, and had taken an active part in promoting some of the most obnoxious measures respecting the government of the church. But he was soon convinced of the folly and mischief of that course, and embraced the first opportunity of cautiously retracing his steps. He perceived the danger to which the nation was exposed from the popish faction, and the wisdom of cultivating a close connection with England. He saw that the peace of the church was necessary to the strength of the kingdom, and that this could not be established so long as the court supported the bishops, who were odious to their brethren, and destitute of all influence over the people. And he was convinced that it was a gross anomaly in politics, for the civil authority to uphold one form of eccle-

* Melville's Diary, pp. 195—198. Printed Calderwood, pp. 327—329, 280—343.

sinstical polity, while the church established by law had ratified and continued to act upon another, which was diametrically opposite to it. These views he took every opportunity of inculcating upon the King; and although he was thwarted by those who envied his power, and felt it no easy task to counteract prejudices which he had contributed to infuse into the royal breast, yet as James entertained a high opinion of his talents, and was very dependent on those to whom he entrusted his affairs, the Chancellor was ultimately able to execute his plans *.

Another individual who had great influence in bringing matters to this desirable issue was Robert Bruce. He was the second son of the laird of Airth, and after completing the study of the laws abroad, had practised for some years at the Scottish bar, with the most flattering prospects of advancement. But after a severe struggle of mind between secular motives and convictions of a higher kind, he abandoned that profession, and entered as a student of divinity at St Andrews. In the year 1587, Melville introduced him to the General Assembly, and recommended him as every way qualified for filling the pulpit that had been occupied by Knox and Lawson. With great reluctance, and after a considerable trial, Bruce complied with the joint entreaties of his brethren and of the inhabitants of the capital †. The nobility respected

* Melville's Diary, 200.

† Maitland, after mentioning that Bruce "threatened to leave the town" of Edinburgh in 1589, says the reason "may be easily

him for his birth and connections; his eminent gifts as a preacher gained him the affection of the common people; and those who could not love him stood in awe of his commanding talents, and his severe and incorruptible virtue. Bruce acted in full concert with Melville; and his station at Edinburgh, and his influence with the Chancellor, who paid much deference to his opinions, enabled him to be of greater service to the church than any other individual *.

The happy effects of this change of policy appeared very strikingly while his Majesty was in Denmark, on the occasion of his marriage. In the instructions which he left behind him, he nominated Bruce an extraordinary member of the privy council, and declared that he reposed more confidence in him and his brethren, for preserving the country in peace, than he did in all his nobility. Nor was he disappointed. Bothwell was made to give public

guessed at," as he agreed to stay upon "the increase of his stipend to a thousand merks." (Hist. of Edinburgh, p. 45.) If instead of *guessing*, that writer had made himself acquainted with facts, he would have known, that Bruce, at the period referred to, had not yet consented to settle at Edinburgh, and had a call to St Andrews which he preferred; (Record of Kirk Session of St Andrews, May 21, 1580. Wodrow's Life of Bruce, p. 4.) that the minister who held the first charge in the metropolis required a stipend much greater than that of his colleagues, in as much as the task of keeping up an extensive correspondence on the affairs of the national church was devolved on him; and that the independent spirit, and scrupulous honour, which Bruce evinced through the whole of his life, raised him above the suspicion of being actuated by such mean and mercenary motives.

* Cald. iii. 380. Melville's Diary, pp. 100, 200.

satisfaction in the church of Edinburgh for his turbulent conduct. The popish lords attempted to excite disturbance, but, finding the council prepared to resist them, desisted from their practices, and remained quiet. During the six months that the King and the Chancellor were absent, the kingdom exhibited a scene of unwonted tranquillity: not above one affray in which blood was shed happened; although formerly scarce a week elapsed without instances of such violations of the peace, and insults on good order and legal authority *. The letters which Bruce received at this time from James remain as proofs of his meritorious services, and of the ingratitude of the monarch by whom he was afterwards treated with the most unrelenting severity †.

Melville was invited to be present at the ceremony of the Queen's coronation, which was performed with great solemnity in the chapel of Holyroodhouse, on the 17th of May 1590, in the presence of the ambassadors of Denmark and other foreign states, and of a great concourse of Scottish nobility and gentry. On that occasion three sermons were preached; one in Latin, another in French,

* Melville's Diary, pp. 204—5.

† Calderwood (iv. 178—194, 445.) has preserved three letters written from Denmark by the Chancellor, and four by the King, to Bruce. His Majesty addresses him as his "trusty and well-beloved counsellor;" and says that he was "worth the quarter of his kingdom," that he would reckon himself "beholden while he lived" for the services he had done him, and that he would "never forget the same."

and a third in English *. After an interval, during which the royal party retired for a little from the assembly, Melville recited a Latin poem in celebration of the event. Robert Bruce then performed the ceremony of anointing the Queen, and, assisted by the Chancellor and David Lindsay, placed the Crown on her Majesty's head. The solemnity continued from ten in the morning till five at night †.

Melville had no information that he was expected to take part in the coronation until two days before it happened. He had therefore little time for preparation. But, although hastily composed, his poem was greatly admired, as well as the spirited and graceful manner in which it was pronounced. In returning him thanks, his Majesty said, That he had that day done him and the country such honour as he could never requite. He enjoined him to

* The coronation was on a Sabbath.

† Cald. iv. 190, 198. Moyses' Memoirs, p. 170. Spotswood hurries over the affair of the coronation. "The king (says he) determining to have it done in most solemn manner, *because none of the bishops were present, nor could conveniently be brought against the day*, made choice of Mr Robert Bruce to perform the ceremony." (Hist. p. 381.) The bishops, forsooth, good men! were all so conscientiously employed in watching their flocks, that not one of them could spare time to wait on the court, but left this business to "idle" ministers. To make amends for the brevity of his description, the archbishop introduces, by way of episode or diversion, an account of a dispute among the ministers respecting the lawfulness of unction, which his Majesty put an end to, by threatening that he would "stay till one of the bishops came." James knew very well, that half a dozen of them would have started up at a single blast of his hunting-horn.

give the poem immediately into the hands of the printer, adding, that all the ambassadors joined with him in soliciting its publication. It was accordingly printed next day, under the title of *Stephaniskion* *, and being circulated through Europe, added to the reputation which the author had already gained. Lipsius and Scaliger, who then divided between them the dictatorship in the republic of letters, bestowed on it their warmest commendations †. A general regret was expressed that the author of such a poem did not favour the public with larger and more frequent productions of his muse. When this was signified to him by his friends, he repeated the excuse which he had formerly made ‡, but at the same time gave them ground to hope that their wishes would be gratified, if he should afterwards find leisure from his more important and pressing avocations §.

On the sabbath after the coronation of the Queen, the King attended sermon in St Giles's church, and made a harangue to the people, in which he

* See Note FF.

† On reading it, Lipsius exclaimed, *Revera Andreas Melvinus est serio doctus.* And Scaliger, who was not usually lavish in his praises of others, and did not entertain the lowest opinion of his own abilities, among other complimentary expressions, said in a letter to the author, *Nos talia non possumus.* Diary, ut inf.

‡ See above p. 92.

§ Melville's Diary, p. 206. Calderwood represents Melville's *Stephaniskion* as delivered in the presence of the ambassadors on the day of the Queen's public entrance into the city of Edinburgh, which was two days after the Coronation. (Cald. iv. 198.) This is incorrect. (Delitiæ Poet. Scot. ii. 71.)

thanked them and the ministers for their conduct during his absence, confessed that the affairs of the kingdom had hitherto been ill-administered, and promised to exert himself in the correction of all abuses. At the ensuing meeting of the General Assembly he repeated these professions, lamented the bloody feuds which disgraced the country, and exhorted the ministers to embrace every opportunity of impressing their hearers with the enormity of such crimes. It was on this occasion that he pronounced his celebrated panegyric on the purity of the church of Scotland. He praised God that he was born in such a time, as in the time of the light of the gospel, and in such a place, as to be King in such a kirk, the purest kirk in the world. "The kirk of Geneva (continued his Majesty) keepeth Pasch and Yule. What have they for them? they have no institution. As for our neighbour kirk in England, their service is an evil-said mass in English: they want nothing of the mass but the liftings. I charge you, my good people, ministers, doctors, elders, nobles, gentlemen, and barons, to stand to your purity; and I forsooth, so long as I brook my life and crown, shall maintain the same against all deadly *." Whether James was on this occasion

* Cald. iv. 198, 204. When Spotswood has occasion to mention any thing said or done by his Majesty in favour of presbytery, he usually adds, that the King temporized with the ministers. But such an apology on the present occasion, would have been rather too gross; and, accordingly, he omits entirely that part of the speech which was in commendation of the church of Scotland. (Hist. p. 382.)

seized with a sudden fit of devotion and of affection for his mother church, or whether he merely adopted this language to gain the favour of the ministers, may admit of a doubt. But it is certain, that the speech was received by the assembly with a transport of joy: "there was nothing heard for a quarter of an hour, but praising God and praying for the king."

When the church was enjoying internal peace, and had the prospect of obtaining from the government a redress of her grievances, she met with an unexpected attack from a foreign quarter. Notwithstanding the difference between their external forms of worship and discipline, the churches of England and Scotland had hitherto continued on friendly terms. The latter rested satisfied with acting for herself in removing various corruptions which were retained by the former, and did not interfere with the affairs of her neighbours; except by interceding, in a few instances, in behalf of those who were suffering for non-conformity to the ceremonies. Even when engaged in contending against episcopacy, which the court and a few ambitious churchmen obtruded on them, contrary to the original constitution of their church, the ministers of Scotland had avoided, as far as possible, reflections on the ecclesiastical establishment of England. The English bishops, who were in general men respectable for their piety and talents, had used the same reserve with respect to Scotland, and endeavoured to preserve that union between the two nations

which was of the greatest consequence to both, while they were exposed to the restless attacks of a common and dangerous enemy. Of late, symptoms of an opposite spirit had manifested themselves, in the countenance given to Adamson, and in the industry with which his calumnious libel had been circulated, in England. But open hostilities were at this time proclaimed by Doctor Bancroft, an aspiring ecclesiastic, in a sermon which he preached before the parliament, and which was immediately published. It is scarcely possible to conceive a more perfect specimen of the argument *ad invidiam*, than this oration exhibits. All the topics of declamation calculated to excite prejudice are carefully collected, and employed with no small art. Puritanism is the offspring of a spirit of pride, ambition, covetousness, and insubordination. Puritans are coupled with the worst heretics, in ancient or modern times. All those writings which contained sentiments less favourable to monarchical government, whether published in Britain or on the Continent, are imputed to them. The jealousy of the Queen is aroused by representing them as enemies to her supremacy; the nobility are alarmed by being told that the recovery of abbey-lands was aimed at; and the gentry and commons are frightened with the inquisitorial powers of the presbyterian discipline. All are warned to avoid such pests to society; and magistrates are called on to use their authority to restrain and punish them *.

* "If they (the puritanical "geese and dogs") will gaggle and

Not contented with exposing the evils of presbyterianism in the way of general argument, and with confuting such as maintained it in England, the author of the sermon makes a direct and wilful attack on the government and discipline of the church of Scotland. The Reformer, whom the Scots held in veneration, is stigmatized as a man of contentious humour and perverse behaviour. And an odious picture, borrowed from the distorted representations of Adamson and Brown, is given of the proceedings of the ministers and church-courts in Scotland during their late dissentions with the court. They took it upon them to alter the laws of the land without the consent of the King and estates—threatened them with excommunication—filled the pulpits with seditious and treasonable doctrine—utterly disclaimed the King's authority—trode upon his sceptre—laboured to establish an ecclesiastical tyranny of an infinite jurisdiction, such as neither the law of God nor man could tolerate, which was the mother of all faction, confusion, sedition and rebellion, and an introduction to anabaptism and popularity—instead of one pope, and some lord bishops in name, they had set up a thousand lordly tyrants who disclaimed the name: On these accounts the King had overthrown the presbyteries; and although it might appear from his recent conduct that he had altered his views of them, yet this could not

make a noise in the day time without any cause, *opinor iis crura suffringantur*: I think it very fit they be rapt in the shinnes." Bancrofts's Sermon, p. 73. edit. 1636.

be the case, and he was to be considered as merely accommodating himself for a time to circumstances *. Such was the way in which the chaplain of the Lord Chancellor of England excited the members of the high court of Parliament to express their gratitude to Providence, for the deliverance which they had just experienced from the Spanish Armado! And such was the reward which the preachers of Scotland received, for their unwearied efforts to preserve amity between the two kingdoms, and for the zeal with which they had aroused and persuaded their countrymen to make a common cause with England, during the most alarming danger with which she was ever threatened! †

It is easy to conceive how the ministers of Scotland must have felt at this unprovoked attack. They viewed it, not as an attempt to bring the merits of the two forms of ecclesiastical polity to a fair and dispassionate discussion, but as a vile libel intended

* "A sermon preached at Pauls Crosse the 9th of February; being the first Sunday in the Parliament Anno 1588 by Richard Bancroft—Chaplaine to the L. Chancellor of England." Printed in 1588, and reprinted in 1636.

† The only excuse that can be made for such conduct, is that the bishops were at this time greatly alarmed at the increase of the non-conformists, and at the resolutions of the House of Commons against ecclesiastical abuses. Bancroft gives an extract from "a Letter of P. A." (Patrick Adamson) which throws light on these fears. "Certain of the chiefe Noblemen of England dealt with me to persuade the king of Scotland my master to overthrow all the Bishopricks in his country, that his proceedings therein might be an example for England adjoining." Dangerous Positions, p. 5. 2nd edit.

to hold them up to detestation before a neighbouring nation; as the work of an interested alarmist, who was regardless of the means which he employed to please his patrons and to protect lucrative abuses; and as an attempt to throw a firebrand into a peaceable community, to rekindle the flame of dissention which was nearly quenched in Scotland, and to revive in the breast of his Majesty those prejudices which had already been productive of so much evil. Under these impressions they appointed a committee to write a letter to Elizabeth, complaining of the indignity which they had suffered *; and to draw up an answer to the railing accusation which had been brought against them †. The letter and the answer were prepared; but on a calmer consideration of all circumstances it was judged proper to suppress them, and to rest satisfied with a small publication by an individual, containing a protest against the rashness of the calumniator, and the reasons of their declining to enter upon a defence of their conduct ‡.

* Records of the Presbytery of Edinburgh, Dec. 9, 1589. A copy of the intended letter to Elizabeth is inserted in Cald. iv. 171—175.

† Records of the Presbytery of Edinburgh, April 29, and June 5, 1589.

‡ This was published by John Davidson under the following title: "D. Bancrofts Rashnes in rayling against the Chvrch of Scotland, noted in an Answere to a Letter of a worthy person of England, and some reasons rendred, why the answere thereunto hath not hitherto come foorth. By J. D. a brother of the sayd Church of Scotland. Ex Mvltis Pavca. At Edinbvrgh printed by Robert Walde-grave. Anno. 1590." B in eights. The running title is: "A proofe of D. Bancrofts rashnes against the

They were averse to engage in open hostilities against the church of England. The falsehood of the charges brought against them was known to several individuals of the English court, who promised to see justice done to them. They were loath to offend Elizabeth, whose patronage they had experienced, and of whose aversion to all innovations on the ecclesiastical constitution of her kingdom they were aware. And they knew that James, though disposed to consent to the abolition of episcopacy in Scotland, was anxious to avoid giving offence to the English bishops, who might lay obstacles in the way of his succession. A generous adversary would have scorned to avail himself of the advantage which these circumstances gave him, and would have desisted from assailing persons whom he knew to be restrained from self-defence. Bancroft was not of this disposition. Besides corresponding with Adamson, he employed an English bookseller at Edinburgh as a spy on the ministers, transmitted to him a string of officious queries respecting the conduct of the preachers and the procedure of the church-courts, and continued, from time to time, to publish the information which he catered by such means, in books still more inflamed and abusive than his first production *. Sutcliff, Saravia, and

Church of Scotland." It concludes: "Farewell, from Edin. the 18. of September, 1590. Yours in the Lord, J. D." The only copy of this rare tract which I have seen or heard of is in the possession of Mr David Laing.

* Cald. iv. 175. Bancroft's publications are entitled; "A

other English divines carried on the same mode of warfare in various publications. By remaining silent under these attacks, the ministers of Scotland certainly displayed their moderation *: the wisdom of their conduct may be questioned by some who respect the motives from which it proceeded. The fact is mentioned here, as it throws light on the state of parties, and helps to account for events which will afterwards come under our notice.

James took an opportunity of contradicting the insinuation of Bancroft, that he dissembled in the concessions which he had lately made in favour of presbytery†. But various parts of his conduct gave too much reason for concluding that he still retained to the anti-reformation principles which he had sucked in from his favourites. Desirous as the ministers were at this period to cultivate his good graces, it was impossible for them to refrain from censuring the glaring instances in which justice was diverted from its course, and convicted or notorious murderers screened from punishment, by his culpable negli-

Survey of the Pretended Holy Discipline;" and "Dangerous Positions, or Scottish Genevating and English Scottizing for Discipline:" printed in 1593, and reprinted in 1602. In the last mentioned work, (p. 30. 2d. edit.) Bancroft disingenuously complains of the Scottish ministers attempting to "cast some of their contentious and disloyal seeds into England." The only proof of this which he is able to produce is Davidson's book, consisting of sixteen small leaves, and extorted by his own virulent invective.

* Calderwood quotes from an answer made by John Davidson to Sutcliff, but I do not know that it was ever printed.

† Bancroft's Rashnes, sig. A 5.

gence and favouritism. No instance of this kind raised the indignation of the people to such a pitch, or sunk the character of the King so low, as the murder of the Earl of Murray, the heir of the Good Regent, by the Earl of Huntly, and the indifference, or rather aversion, which the court testified to avenge the crime. Melville, along with some other ministers, was deputed by the General Assembly, to wait on the King, and to stimulate him to the vigorous discharge of his duty in this affair. As was natural, the preachers, in taking notice of the death of the son, had alluded to the father, and mentioned the name of the Good Regent with that regard and veneration with which they continued to cherish his memory. In the course of the present conference James testified his dissatisfaction at these speeches. Melville defended their conduct, and expressed his surprise and sorrow at learning, that there were persons about the court who spoke disrespectfully of individuals to whom Scotland was under the highest obligations. The conversation growing warm, the Chancellor, who did not feel quite at ease on this topic, interrupted Melville, and told him that that was not the errand on which he came. He answered, that on such a theme he would not be silenced by him, or by any individual beneath his Majesty. The King said, that Murray, Knox, and Buchanan could be defended only by seditious and traitorous theologues. Melville replied, that they were the men who set the crown upon his head, and deserved better treatment. His Majesty said that his crown

came to him by succession, and was not given him by any man. "But they were the instruments; (replied Melville) and whosoever informs your Majesty sinistrously of these men, neither loves you nor the commonwealth *."

Adamson was the only one of the bishops who persisted in opposing the church after the annexation of their temporalities to the crown †. In August 1588, a variety of accusations were given in against him to the General Assembly. His extravagance and imprudence had involved him in great pecuniary embarrassments, and his person was liable to be seized by his creditors. He was charged with having abstracted, secreted, and mutilated the registers of the assembly, and with having celebrated the marriage of the Earl of Huntly, contrary to an express inhibition of the commissioners of the church ‡.

* Cald. iv. 250.

† Montgomery having submitted to the church, the trial of his repentance was referred to the Presbytery of Edinburgh, who, upon receiving satisfaction from him, removed the excommunication. (Record of Presb. of Edin. June 7. 1586; and Aug. 29. 1587.) "Anent the supplicatioun of Mr Rot Montgomerie," the General Assembly (February 158⅞.) found that "he may be admittit pastour over a flock q^r he hes not been slanderous, provyding he be found qualified in lyfe and doctrine." (Buik of Univ. Kirk, f. 150, a.)

‡ A writer in the *Biographia Britannica*, speaking of the marriage of the Earl of Huntly, says: "The not permitting a man to marry without his having first subscribed a confession of faith, is one of the completest instances of ecclesiastical folly and bigotry recorded in history." (vol. i. p. 41. 2nd. edit.) The reader may pronounce on the wisdom and liberality of this censure, after considering the circumstances of the case. Huntly was the chief

The assembly remitted the trial of Adamson to the presbytery of Edinburgh, giving them full power to pass a final sentence in the process according to the laws of the church. That presbytery having tried the libel given in by Robert Pont and Adam Johnston, found the bishop guilty of falsehood and double-dealing, erroneous doctrine, opposition to the discipline of the church, and contempt of the late public thanksgiving: and therefore deposed him from all function in the ministry, and debarred him from privileges in the church, until he should give satisfaction for his conduct *.

What happened on the king's return from Denmark, might have convinced Adamson that he could

of the popish party in Scotland, and deeply engaged in a treasonable correspondence with Spain. His proposed marriage with a ward of the crown, the daughter of the Duke of Lennox, his Majesty's favourite, was, for obvious reasons, dreaded by all the protestants. To accomplish this object the more easily, Huntly feigned (as he afterwards acknowledged) a disposition to renounce the Catholic faith, but affected to stickle at some of the protestant doctrines. The presbytery of Edinburgh, believing that his object was to drive time, prohibited any of the ministers to celebrate the marriage until he had subscribed the confession. Notwithstanding this, Adamson performed the ceremony, at the very time that the Spanish Armado was expected to appear on the coasts of England. (Record of the Presbytery of Edinburgh, July 3, 1588. Buik of Univ. Kirk. f. 152, b.)—The article referred to, (the Life of Adamson) is very incorrect. In the second edition, the liberal ideas of Dr Kippis, joined to the old prejudices of the original author, form a piece of literary patchwork, which is curious, but not singular in such compilations.

* Buik of Univ. Kirk. f. 153. Cald. iv. 71. Record of the Presbytery of Edinburgh, Oct. 15 and Dec. 17, 1588; and June 5, 1589.

no longer depend on the royal favour. But he continued to deceive himself with vain hopes, and, being flattered by letters from Bancroft, persevered in his opposition to presbytery, and in his attacks on Melville *. Nor was he undeceived until his life-rent was sequestered and given to the Duke of Lennox. In vain did he remonstrate against this deed; in vain did he address elegant and plaintive verses to his Majesty, in which he reminded him of the zeal with which he had served him from his birth, and was ready still to serve him †. James remained

* In his Dedication of his paraphrase of the Revelation in Latin verse ("Sanctandreæ, Cal. Maijs 1590,") he informs the King that he had prepared a work, entitled *Psillus*, in which he had "sucked out the seditious poison infused by the *Melvinian faction*, defended the episcopal authority and the royal supremacy, and warned the neighbouring kingdom of England of the rocks on which the church of Scotland had struck." (Oper. Adamsoni.)

† Auspiciis i musa bonis, pete limina Regis,
Difficiles aditus non habet ille locus.
Inuenies illic castas, tua vota, sorores,
Musarum Princeps præsidet ipse choro:

After mentioning the various services which he had rendered to the king, in France, in England, and in Scotland, he concludes:

His dictis, postquam surgentes ordine musas
Viderit ad lacrymas ingemuisse tuas,
Et tristi aspiciens BARTASSIA NUMINA vultu,
Haud dubie votis annuet ille tuis.
Tu voti compos, caueas ne decide penna
Segnior in laudes repperiare suas.

Epigrammata, T. 4. Oper. Adamsoni, 4to.

insensible to his entreaties, and withheld from him even that assistance which was necessary to preserve his family from absolute want. The unhappy bishop, deprived of his only support, sunk into deep dejection of mind, aggravated by poverty and sickness. So little reliance was placed on his sincerity that few would believe that he was really in such a miserable situation; and he was reduced to the humiliating step of writing a letter to Melville, in which, after professing sorrow for his former conduct, he disclosed to him his destitute circumstances. Melville immediately visited him, supported his family out of his own purse for some months, and afterwards procured a contribution for him from his friends in St Andrews. When the provincial synod of Fife met, Adamson applied to them to be released from the sentence of excommunication which they had pronounced against him. His petition was granted; and he subscribed different papers, in which he recanted his episcopal sentiments, retracted the famous declaration which he had published in defence of the acts of Arran's parliament, and professed his deep sorrow for the opposition which he had made to the judicatures and discipline of the church. He died on the 19th of February, 1592.

The circumstances in which the archbishop subscribed his recantation necessarily throw a degree of suspicion over the sincerity with which it was made, and detract from its value as a testimony in favour of presbytery. But there is not the least

reason to doubt the genuineness of the document itself*. The presbyterian writers have done ample justice to Adamson's talents, but it has been alleged that their prejudices have led them to injure his character. If they did so, they acted not merely an unjustifiable, but also a foolish and preposterous part; for in proportion as they detracted from his reputation, they diminished the honour of the victory which they had gained over the chief of their antagonists†. Nothing can be more absurd than to

* Wilson passes it over, and says that the ministers took advantage of an ambiguous expression of his father-in-law, to circulate the report, that he had renounced episcopacy. (Vita Patr. Adamsoni, pp. 16, 17.) Spotswood allows that he subscribed the articles "which were afterwards imprinted under the name of Mr Patrick Adamsons Recantation;" but he alleges that "when it was told him that such a recantation was published in his name he complained heavily of the wrong that was done him, and committing his cause to God, ended his days in the end of this year." (Hist. p. 385.) The recantation was subscribed April 8, 1591. (Cald. iv. 214.) It was sent to the presbytery of Edinburgh in the course of that month, that they might "give y^r advys gif they vald the said patrick sold add ony thing y^rto—as also gif they sall think it expedient to be prentit." (Record of Presbytery of Edinburgh, April 20. 1591.) Adamson survived this ten months. (Th. Volusenus, Vita P. Adamsoni, p. 23.) By its being "published," Spotswood must mean its being made publicly known: and surely Adamson knew, when he subscribed the paper, that this was the use to be made of it. It does not appear to have been printed until the year 1598. (Ames by Herbert, p. 1519.) At that time several, if not all, of the witnesses, in whose presence it was subscribed, were alive; and among them were the most respectable gentlemen of the county.

† This is allowed by James Melville. "The man haid manie grait giftes, bot speciallie excellit in the toung and pen.—If he haid bein endowit bot withe a commoun civill piece of honestye

identify the merits of a public cause with the private qualities of individuals by whom it may happen to be supported. There have been learned and pious bishops; and there have been illiterate and worthless presbyters. That the opponents of Adamson, in some instances exaggerated his faults, and that they accused him of some things which were not criminal, I allow; but on the other hand I am satisfied that those who feel most respect for his talents and rank, will be pained to find, on examination, that the leading charges brought against him are supported by evidence too strong to admit of being controverted. In his works is a beautiful little poem, breathing a spirit of warm piety, which his son-in-law says was composed by him a short time before his death *.

The death of Adamson was followed by the legal establishment of presbytery. In June 1592, the

in his delling and conversation, he haid ma meanes to haiff wrought mischieff in a kirk or countrey nor anie I haiff knawin or hard of in our yland." Diary, p. 215.

* Adamsoni Opera. 4to. Vita. p. 16. 14mo. James was the eldest, and Patrick the second son of Patrick archbishop of St Andrews. Act. Parl. Scot. iii 355, 480. His daughter was married to Thomas Wilson, an advocate, who wrote a life of his father-in-law, and published a collection of his works in 1619. The bishop married Elizabeth, daughter of William Arthour and Margaret Martine. (Inventory of goods and books belonging to Mr William Skene) Margaret Martine, after the death of "Mr Williame Arthor of Kernis her first husband," married "Mr William Skene commissar of Sanctandrois." (Record of Privy Council, January 17. 1582 Commissary Rec. of S. And. Jan. 2. 1572; May 8, and 24, 1594.)

parliament passed an act, ratifying the general assemblies, provincial synods, presbyteries, and particular sessions of the church: and declaring them, with the jurisdiction and discipline belonging to them, to be in all time coming, most just, good, and godly, notwithstanding of whatsoever statutes, acts, canon, civil or municipal laws, made to the contrary. This act ratified and embodied some of the leading propositions in the Second Book of Discipline, relating to the powers of these judicatories. It appointed General Assemblies to be held once every year, or oftener *pro re nata*, as occasion should require; the time and place of next meeting to be appointed by his Majesty or his commissioner, or, provided neither of them should be present, by the assembly itself. And it appointed provincial synods to be held twice a-year. It rescinded an act authorizing the observance of Christmas and Easter, and some other acts favourable to popery, which had hitherto been allowed to remain in the statute-book. It declared that the act of the parliament 1584, respecting the royal supremacy, should be in no wise prejudicial to the privileges of the office bearers of the church, concerning heads of religion, matters of heresy, excommunication, the appointment or deprivation of ministers, or any such essential censures warranted by the word of God. And it declared the act of the same parliament, granting commission to bishops, and other judges appointed by his Majesty, in ecclesiastical causes, to be null, and of no avail, force or effect in time coming; and ordained pre-

sentations to be directed to presbyteries, who should have full power to give collation to benefices, and to manage all ecclesiastical causes within their bounds, provided they admitted such qualified ministers as were presented by his Majesty or other lay patrons *.

This settlement was not without its defects. Not to mention some important pieces of reformation, craved in the Second Book of Discipline, which were entirely left out, the supreme court was deprived of the right which it had hitherto possessed of appointing its own meetings; and the power of presbyteries and the liberties of the people were fettered by the continuance of lay patronage. At a posterior period, when the reformation of the church was carried to a higher degree of perfection, and a settlement made upon more liberal principles, these restrictions were removed. But at present this could not be obtained; and the church waved her demand in consideration of the advantages which the act conferred on her. Nor were these restrictions found to be so hurtful in effect as might have been imagined. So long as the court was disposed to respect the law, and to allow the church to meet annually in general assembly, the settling of the particular time and place of meeting was of minor importance; and the arrangement actually made might be viewed as an accommodation to the ideas

* Act. Parl. Scot. iii. 541. This statute has the vague and undescriptive title of "Act for abolishing of the actis contrair the true religioun.

that then generally prevailed as to all public conventions. Nor was the law of patronage attended with very serious evils at a period, when the church courts held, that the consent of the people was to be obtained previous to the settlement of a minister among them, and when, actuated by this principle, they were studious, by the influence which they used with patrons, and by the regulations which they made as to presentees, to lighten, instead of aggravating, a yoke which has always been felt to be oppressive and degrading *.

The Act of Parliament 1592, which still continues to be the charter of the Church of Scotland's liberties, has always been regarded by presbyterians in an important light, and as a great step in national reformation. It repealed several statutes which were favourable to superstition, and hostile to the independence of the kingdom. It reduced the prerogative of the crown, which had lately been raised to an exorbitant height; and, by legally securing the religious privileges of the nation against arbitrary encroachments, it pointed out the propriety and practicability of providing similar securities in behalf of political rights. It gave the friends of the presbyterian constitution the advantage of occupying legal ground, and enabled them, during a series of years, to oppose a successful resistance to the efforts of the court to obtrude on them an opposite system. And as often as the nation felt disposed to throw off the imposed yoke of episcopacy, they availed themselves of this charter, and founded upon it a

* See Note CC.

"claim of right" to the re-enjoyment of their ancient liberties.

The Church of Scotland did not regard the present or any other parliamentary grant, as the basis of her religious constitution. This had been already laid down from Scripture in her Books of Discipline. For all her internal administrations she pleaded and rested upon higher grounds than either regal or parliamentary authority. What she now obtained was a legal recognition of those powers which she had long claimed as belonging to her by scriptural institution, and the gift of her Divine Head. She had now a right by human as well as divine law, *in foro poli et soli*, to hold her assemblies for worship and discipline, and to transact all the business competent to her as an ecclesiastical society, without being liable to any challenge for this, and without being exposed to any external interruption or hinderance whatever, either from individuals or from the executive government. Without entering on the question of civil establishments of religion, which might be shewn to be consonant with the soundest principles of policy and Christianity, I shall only remark, that when the sanction of civil authority is given to a church properly organized and duly reformed, it may prove one of the greatest national blessings, and be no less beneficial to the power which confers it than to the society on which it is conferred. Had the church of Scotland been remiss in her exertions to obtain this sanction, or had she declined to accept it when offered, she

would have acted a foolish and a criminal part. Had the statutes which were directly opposed to her discipline been simply abrogated, without its receiving any positive and legal ratification, it would have been still liable to be interrupted and hindered, whenever the court chose to take offence at any part of ecclesiastical management, or to advance the plea that it fell under the civil jurisdiction. And if the system of some modern theorists had been adopted—if all laws relating to the church had at once been swept away, the ecclesiastical property totally secularized, and a universal freedom in matters of religion proclaimed—the consequences would infallibly have been, that many parts of the country would have been thrown destitute of religious instruction and worship; ignorance, and crime, and atheism, would have spread through the land; and, within a short time, popish superstition and tyranny would have regained that power which had been wrested from them with such difficulty, and at the expence of so much toil and blood. The infatuation of such a course would scarcely have been less than that of abolishing all public institutions for education and the promoting of learning through the kingdom, and of leaving the object of these to be gained entirely by individual exertion and voluntary support; a measure which would be preposterous and hurtful at any time, but which, at the period under consideration, would have been productive of ruining and irremediable mischief.

This important act was not obtained without a

final struggle. It was keenly opposed by some of the nobility from motives which had long been no secret, and they suffered it at last to pass in the hopes that it would be suppressed by the King. There is little reason to doubt that this would have been its fate, had it not been for the peculiar situation in which the court was then placed. The murder of the Earl of Murray, and the impunity extended to the murderer, had excited universal indignation among the people. Ballads and placards were published, accusing the principal courtiers, and even James himself, as accessory to that foul deed; and Bothwell was in arms to revenge it. In these circumstances, the chancellor, who had incurred a great share of this odium, prevailed on the king to assent to the act ratifying presbytery, as a deed which more than any other would conciliate the popular favour to his administration. The royal assent was accordingly given to it, to the great joy of the commissioners of the General Assembly, who had been in constant and active attendance, but despaired of being able to carry the measure until the parliament was on the eve of dissolution, and were not fully relieved from their fears until they heard the act proclaimed among others at the market-cross of Edinburgh*.

Melville must have been highly gratified with this act of the legislature. He had now procured the sanction of the state, as well as of the church, to

* Melville's Diary, pp. 216. 219. Cald. iv. 252.

a form of ecclesiastical polity which he regarded as agreeable to the Scripture pattern, and eminently conducive to the spiritual welfare of the nation. Principles, for the maintenance of which he had often been branded as seditious and a traitor, were now not merely recognized as innocent and lawful, but pronounced "most just, good, and godly," by the highest authority in the land. It was the triumph of the cause which had cost him so much labour and anxiety during eighteen years. And he could now cherish the hope of being permitted to apply himself with less interruption to his studies and academical duties; although he must have been aware, that it would still be necessary for him to watch, with the utmost vigilance, over the safety of an ecclesiastical establishment which had many enemies, by whose efforts it might be secretly undermined or violently overthrown.

NOTES

TO

VOLUME FIRST.

Note A. p. 2.

Of the family of the Melvilles.—The name and family of *Melville* are mentioned in Scottish charters as early as the middle of the twelfth century. It is agreed on all hands that they were of foreign extraction; and the opinion of Mr Chalmers, that they were of "Anglo-Norman lineage," is the most probable; although he does not appear to have any good authority for asserting that the first of the family who came to Scotland was called *Male*. (Sibbald's Fife, 390, edit. 1803, Crawfurd's Peerage, 524. Nisbet's Heraldry, edit. 2. App. p. 28. Chalmers's Caledonia, i. 524. ii. 806.)

Next to the principal family in Mid-Lothian, the Melvilles of Glenbervie, hereditary Sheriffs of Kincardine, figure the earliest on record of any of that name. The were mentioned in royal charters, now missing, by David II. and Robert III. (Robertson's Index of Charters, pp. 34, 141.) The family of Dysart were either among the earliest cadets or the eventual male representatives of the Glenbervies. "Johannes Malveyn de Disart" is mentioned Feb. 6. 1457. (Chart. of Arbroath.) David II. on the 6th April of the 30th year of his reign, confirmed a charter, by which "Christiana de Malavilla domina de Glenbervy" granted "Johanni de Mallavilla consanguineo meo et hæredibus suis de corpore suo legitime procreatis has terras *in baronia de Glenbervy* videlicet *Liegevin*, &c. (Regist. Davidis Secundi, Lib. 1. No. 116.) On the 20th of Jan. 1579, a Charter of Confirmation was ordained to be

made, (which passed the Great Seal in the same year), "Ratefieand ye Charter donation and gift in it contenit maid be his lovit Thomas Melville of Dysart to James Melvll of *Liegavin* his sone and apperande air his airis and assignais of all and haill ye landis and baronie of Dysart, &c.—lyand wy'in ye Scheriffdome of forfare, &c." (Register of Signatures, vol. 8. fol. 66.) These two charters and the lands of *Liegavin* connect the family of Dysart with the Melvilles of Glenbervy, as their ancestors. It also appears from these, and from other documents, that the lands of *Dysart*, belonging to the Melvilles of that title, lay in Angus, and not in Fife, as I was at first inclined to think. That the Melvilles of Baldovy were of the family of Dysart appears from a Charter of Confirmation granted, Feb. 9. 1505, "Joanni Melvill de Disart hæredibus suis et assignatis super cartam sibi factam per Joannem Seryngeor de Bawdovy de data 20 die Januarii 150[illegible] de totis et integris terris suis de *Bawdovy* cum tenentibus jacentibus infra Vicecomitatum de Forfar, &c." (Great Seal. Lib. [illegible]. No. 107. comp. Lib. 15. No. 170.)—For these ancient notices of the families of Glenbervy and Dysart I am indebted to John Riddell, Esq. Advocate.

I have said in the text, that the Melvilles claimed affinity to the royal family. The subject of this memoir has alluded to this claim in such a manner as to leave little doubt that he believed its justice, and that he was not altogether devoid of the feelings of family pride. Dr John Forbes of Corse has preserved a curious extract of a letter which Melville wrote him from Sedan, containing a copy of verses which he had sent to King James from the Tower, and stating that both he and Forbes derived their extraction from *John of Gaunt*. The reader must excuse me from tracing his genealogy to that redoubted prince; but I shall give the passage, as it stands in a note to the dedication of Bishop Forbes's "Tractatus Apologeticus de legitima vocatione Ministrorum in Ecclesiis Reformatis: Comment. in Apocalyp. p. 175. Amstel, 1646."

"* *Cognationis istius via est per* M. THOMÆ MICHAELIS, con-

* The words in Italics are Forbes's.

sanguinitatem cum clarissimo illo beatæ memoriæ D. ANDREA MELVINO, S. Theologiæ quondam Andreapoli in Scotia, & postea Sedani ad Mosam, publico professore, qui mihi, Heidelbergiæ sacris studiis operam danti, anno Domini 1614. *suam mecum & cum nostra familia, & cum Regia etiam domo consanguinitatem, his epistolæ suæ verbis explicabat;* 'Sic enim magno Britanniæ Regi à nobis è Londinensi & Cæsarea arce transmissa habet historica veritas;

An fraudi, an laudi, quod avito sanguine tangam
Immortale tuum Rex Iacobe, genus:
Quod tecum mihi, Quinte, atavus communis utrique,
Idem abavi proavus, Sexte, utriusque tui,
Deliciæ humani generis, gentisque Britannæ:
Stirps Regum, & radix regni utriusque tui.

Is est Johannes Beaufort, Johannis Gandavensis, qui natus Gandavi, filius, Edvvardi tertii nepos, Henrici septimi & Jacobi tertii proavus; Jacobi quinti tam paternus quàm maternus, atque adeò meus itidem atavus; Regibus Gallis, Anglis, Scotis oriundus, Scotorum & Anglorum deinceps Regum progenitor; unde & tu etiam per proavum tuum avunculum meum Patricium Forbesium genus paternum ducis. Vides igitur, mi Forbesi, ut genus amborum findat se sanguine ab uno, eoque regio. Sed absit mihi gloriari, nisi in cruce D. N. J. C. δι' ὃυ ἐμοὶ κόσμος ἐσταύρωται κἀγὼ τῷ κόσμῳ.' *Hæc* Andreas Melvinus, 17. *Aug.* 1614."

Note B. p. 3.

Of the Melvilles of Baldovy.—In a letter to his nephew, Melville mentions the laird of Dysart (Diserti comarchus) as the chief of their branch of the family. (Melvini Epist. p. 294.) "Thomas Lichtoun of Ullischeon with consent of Jhone Lichtoun my son settis and for ferme maill lettis to ane hon^ll man Thos Melvill fear of Disart and to Jonet Scrimgeo his spouse the schadrw* thrid of Disert unwadsett.—Subscribed at Montrois 5 March i^mv^c fourty and twa yeirs before thir witnes hono^ll

* schadow?

men Richard Melvill of Baldovy, Jhone Ogilvy provest of Montrois Jhone Panter burges of the same Maister Walter Melvill and Schir Jhone Gilbert notar public." (Reg. of Contracts of Commissariat of Sanct And.) The tiends of Baldovy belonged to St Mary's College: "Baldivy set 12 or 14 years since to David Melvill for 8 lb. 5 s. without grassum." (Royal Visitation of Univ. of S. Andrews, A. 1599.) David Melville having fallen under mental derangement, his brother, James Melville, was in 1592 appointed tutor to him. (Inquis. de Tutela. num. 1239.) "Feb. 7. 1595. Caus persewit be David Melvill burges of Dundie ag^{t} David Melville of Baldovie and Mr Ja^{s} Melville his tutor—makand mention that upon 24 April 1586 the said David Melvill of Baldovie became obleist to have payit to Thomas Melvill now callit Mr Thos Melvill lauchfull sone to umq^{le} Thos Melvill of Dysart 100 merks, or an annual rent of 10 merks furth of the lands of Baldovie &c." (Act Buik of the Commissariat of S. Andrews.)

About the beginning of the seventeenth century,—Melville of Baldovy married Helen, daughter of Sir David Lindsay of Edzell, and of Lady Helen Lindsay Crawford. (Douglas's Peerage, i. 165.) Richard Melville was succeeded by Mr Andrew Melville, proprietor of Baldovy, and minister of Maretoun, who died in 1641. His brother, Mr Patrick, was served heir to him Dec. 6. 1642. (Inquis. Retorn. *Forfar*, num. 275.) In 1717 the estate became the property of Colonel Scott of Comiston. (Charters *penes* Mr Carnegie, the present proprietor.)

Melville always wrote his name *Melvinus* in Latin, and he is often called *Melvin* in English. Hence some have concluded that *Melvin*, and not *Melville*, was his proper name. But they are merely different modes of pronouncing the same family appellation. (Rudd. Index Nom. Propr. adj. Buch. Hist. voc. *Malavillius*. Inquis. De Tutela. num. 714.) Accordingly, we find Lord Melville repeatedly called "the Lord Melven." (Lamond's Diary, 201—2.) The name was corrupted still farther into *Melin*; (Ib. 284—5.) just as *Colville* was pronounced *Colven* or *Colvine*, (Ib. 188, 197. Inquis. Gen. num. 7592.) which in some parts of the country is corrupted still farther

into *Colin*. This variety in the appellation occurs in the earliest charters granted by the family, or in which they are mentioned. "Galafridus de *Mailvyn*" grants to the church of Dunfermlin "ecclesiam de *Mailvyn*," with common pasture "in villa de *Mailvyn*." In another: "Galfridus de *Malevin*" grants "ecclesiam de *Malevill*;" and in this charter occur the names of "Willi. de *Malevill*" and "Gregorius de *Malvill*." (Registrum Cœnobii de Dunfermline, pp. 516, 519. Bibl. Fac. Jur. Edin. See also Sibbald's Fife, 392. edit. 1803.)

Note C. p. 7.

Grammar Schools and Elementary Books.—"About the fyft yeir of my age the grace buik was put in my hand, and when I was seivine lytle y^t^ of haid I lernit at hame. Therfor my father put my eldest and onlie brother Dauid about a yeir and a haff in age abone me and me togidder to a kinsman and brother in the ministerie of his to scholl, a guid lerned kynd man whome for thankfulnes I name, Mr Wilyā Gray minister at Logie Montrose.—There was a guid nomber of gentle and honest mens berns in the cowntrey about weill treaned vp bathe in letters godlines and exercise of honest geams. Ther we learned to reid the catechisme prayers and scripture, to rehers the catechisme and prayers par cœur also nottes of scripture efter the reiding y^t^ of.—We lerned ther the Rudiments of the Latin Grammair, withe the Vocables in Latin and frenche, also dyvers speitches in frenche, w^t^ the reiding and right pronunciation of y^t^ toung. We procedit fordar to the Etymologie of Lilius and his Syntax, as also a lytle of the Syntax of Linacer, therew^t^ was ioyned Hunters Nomenclatura, the minora Colloquia of Erasmus and sum of the Eclogs of Virgill and Epist of Horace. also Cicero his epistles ad Terentiam. he haid a verie guid and profitable form of resoluing the authors he teatched grammaticallie bathe according to the Etymologie and Syntax. bot as for me the trewthe was my ingyne and memorie was guid aneuche, bot my ingdmēt and vnderstanding was as yit smored and dark, sa that the thing qlk I gat was mair by rat ryme nor knawlage. Ther also we haid the air guid and fields reasonable fear, and be our

maister war teached to handle the bow for archerie, the glub for goff, the batons for fencing, also to rin, to leepe, to swoum, to warsell, to proue pratteiks, everie ane haifing his matche and andagonist, bathe in our lessons and play. A happie and golden tyme indeed giff our negligence and vnthankfulnes haid not moued God to schortene it, partlie be deceying of the number qlk caused the maister to weirie, and partlie be a pest qlk the Lord for sine and contempt of his Gospell send vpon Montrose distant from of Logie bot twa myles so yt scholl skalled, and we war all send for and brought hame. I was at that scholl the space of almost fyve yeirs.—Melville's Diary, pp. 15, 16.

"Sa I was put to the scholl of Montrose, finding of God's guid providence my auld mother Mariorie gray, wha parting from hir brother at his mariage haid takin vpe hous and scholl for lasses in Montrose. to hir I was welcome again as hir awin sone. The maister of the scholl a lerned honest kynd man whom also for thankfulnes I name Mr Andro Miln minister at sedness. he was verie skilfull and diligent the first yeir he caus-it ws go throw the Rudiments againe, yrefter enter and pass throw the first part of Grammer of Sebastian, yrwt we hard phormionē Terentii, and war exerceisd in composition. Efter yt entered to the secund part and hard yrat the Georgics of Wirgill and dyvers uther things.—The lard of Done mentioned befor dwelt oft in the town and of his charitie interteined a blind man wha haid a singular guid voice. him he causit the doctor of our scholl teache the wholl Psalmes in miter wt the tones yrof and sing them in the Kirk, be heiring of whome I was sa delyted yt I lernit manie of the Psalmes and toones yr-of in miter, qlk I haiff thought euer sensyne a grait blessing and comfort." Ib. pp. 19, 20.

The following paper contains information as to the elementary books prepared for the Scottish youth.

"Ane letter maid to maister Wm Nwdrye his factouris and assignaris Mackand mentioun, That quhair ye said maister Willm hes set furth, for ye better instructioun of young chyldrene in ye art of grammer, to be taucht in scholis, diuerse vol-

umes following That is to say Ane schort Introductioun Elementar digestit into sevin breve taiblis for ye commodius expeditioun of yame yat ar desirous to read and write the Scottis toung—Orthoepia trilinguis, compendiariæ latinæ linguæ notæ, Calographiæ index, Tables manuall brevelie introducing ye vnioun of ye partis of orisoun in greik and latene speichis with thair accidencis, Meditationes in gramaticam dispauterianam, Meditationes in publium memographum et sapientum dicta, Trilinguis literaturæ Syntaxis, Trilinguis grammaticæ quæstiones, Ane instructioun for bairnis to be lernit in Scottis and latene, Ane regiment for educatioun of zoung gentillmen in literature et virtuous exercitioun, Ane A. B. C. for scottis men to reid the frenche toung with ane exhortatioun to ye noblis of Scotland to fauour yair ald friendis, The geneologie of Inglische Britonis, Quotidiani Sermonis formulæ, E Pub. Terentii Afri comediis discerpta."—Special licence granted to him for the sole printing of the above, for the space of ten years, &c. At Edinburgh Aug. 26. 1559. (Register of Privy Seal, Vol. 30. fol. 5.)

Note D. p. 8.

Ante-Reformation in Scotland.—Notwithstanding the learned and useful labours of several foreign writers, justice has not yet been done to the history of, what has been called, the ante-reformation. Considering the honour which it does to England, it is surprising that no individual of that nation has attempted accurately to trace the progress of that light which was struck out by Wicliffe, and the influence which his opinions had in exposing established errors, and in exciting and maintaining a spirit of opposition to the abuses of the church, both in Britain and on the Continent. What a meagre and uninteresting life have we of the English Proto-Reformer, the most wonderful man of his age, or that had appeared in the world for many centuries! And, since the meritorious labours of the martyrologist Fox, what has been done to connect the exertions of Wicliffe with those of Tindal and Cranmer? although there is scarcely a city in England, I am persuaded, whose records

would not furnish an accession to the ample materials for such a work already deposited in her public libraries.

It is known, from our common histories, that the sentiments taught by Wicliffe were embraced by many respectable families in the south-west parts of Scotland. (Knox, Hist. 2. Spots. 60.) Before the year 1500 Murdoch Nisbet being driven from his native country, procured a copy of the New Testament in manuscript (of Wicliffe's translation, no doubt) which on his return he concealed in a vault, and read to his family and acquaintance during the night. This was preserved as a legacy in his family till the end of the seventeenth century. (Life of John Nisbet in Hardhill, p. 3.) Gordon of Earlston was an early favourer of the disciples of Wicliffe, and had in his possession a copy of the New Testament in the vulgar language, which was read at meetings held in a wood near to Earlston house. (Wodrow, ii. 67.) Some additional particulars respecting these witnesses for truth are contained in a rare poem, by John Davidson: A Memorial of Robert Campbell of Kinyeancleugh and his wife, Elizabeth Campbell. (Edin. 1595.)

But to be plainer is no skaith,
Of surname they were CAMPBELL's baith:
Of ancient blood of the Cuntrie
They were baith of Genealogie:
He of the Sheriefs house of AIR
Long noble famous and preclair:
Scho of a gude and godly stock
Came of the old house of CESNOK:
Quhais Lard of many yeares bygane,
Professed Christs religion plaine:
Yea eighty yeares sensyne and mare,
As I heard aged men declare:
And als a cunning Scottish Clark,
Called ALISIUS in a wark
Written to JAMES the fifth our king,
Dois this man for his purpose bring:
Quha being to the scaffold led

In Edinburgh to have thold dead,
For Christs Evangell quhilk he red,
By James the fourth from death was fred:
Some sayes death was alswel prepard
For Priest and Lady as the Lard:
This story I could not passe by,
Being so well worth memory:
Whereby most clearlie we may see,
How that the Papists loudly lie:
Who our Religion so oft cald
A faith but of fiftie yeare ald:
When euen in Scotland we may see
It hes bene mair than thrise fiftie:
As by the storie ye may knaw
Of RESHBY burnt before PAUL CRAW
The thousand yeare four hundrethe five,
In PERTH, while Husse was yet aliue.

A Memorial, &c. sig. A 6.

Spotswood says, that John Resby, an Englishman, was "de schola Wicliffi." Petrie, by mistake, says he was "burnt at *Glascow*," (Hist. 557.) Paul Craw, burnt at St Andrews in the year 1432, was a native of Bohemia. (Spots. 56.) At a Congregation of the University of St Andrews, held on the tenth day of June 1416, it was enacted that all who commenced masters of arts should swear, among other things, that they would resist all adherents of the sect of *Lollards*. "Item Jurabitis quod ecclesiam defendetis contra insultum lollardorum, et quibuscunque eorum secte adherentibus pro posse vestro resistetis." (Rec. of University.)

Some interesting particulars respecting the early state of the reformation in Fifeshire, are given in the second edition of the Biographia Britannica from a MS. in the possession of the family to whose ancestor they relate. John Andrew Duncan, a son of the laird of Airdrie, in Fife, was induced by youthful ardour to leave the University of St Andrews in 1513, along with some of his fellow-students, and having joined the

standard of James IV. at the head of a few of his father's tenants, was taken prisoner at the battle of Flowden. Being a young man of gallant appearance, he was treated with indulgence by the Earl of Surrey, and when carried into Yorkshire was suffered to reside at large in the town of Beverly with Mr Alexander Burnet, a near relation of his mother. Mr Burnet, who was a zealous Wicliffite, found his young kinsman eagerly disposed to imbibe his principles. An uncommon spirit of enquiry, with a passion for exposing to contempt every abuse of reason and religion, had already distinguished young Duncan at St Andrews. His conversation with Mr Burnet raised, to a degree of enthusiasm, the aversion he had before conceived against the absurdities and anti-christian tenets of Rome. Upon the termination of the short contest with England he returned to his native country; but, having joined the party that opposed the regency of the Duke of Albany, he was soon obliged to return to Beverly. His excellent friend reproved him for abetting factions in which neither the religion nor liberties of his country had any great concern; and having exacted from him a promise that he would reserve his activity for a better cause, gave him his daughter in marriage. When Albany took his final departure into France, Duncan returned to Scotland, and passed about ten years in the enjoyment of domestic tranquillity at Airdrie, and in literary intercourse with the members of the neighbouring University of St Andrews. The opinions and spirit of the reformers were now more openly avowed, and the house of Airdrie became occasionally the resort of all the chief maintainers of the new doctrines. This led him into a particular intimacy with Patrick Hamilton, the protomartyr of the Reformation in Scotland, who was insidiously drawn into disputes at St Andrews by the artifices of Beaton, and in 1527 fell a sacrifice to the malice and bigotry of his persecutors. The young Laird of Ardrie, who suspected the event, and had been threatened himself, armed and mounted, about a score of his tenants and servants, intending to have entered St Andrews by night, most probably with the view of

attempting to rescue his friend, and to carry him off to some place of safety. But his small party was surrounded, and himself apprehended by a troop of horsemen, commanded by Patrick Duncanson, a gentleman of Angus, who had married his sister. It is doubtful whether his captor engaged in this enterprise from a desire to preserve his life, or to obtain his property, which Duncan, being forced to leave the country, made over to his sister's children. (Biog. Brit. v. 492.)

It is stated in the *Biographia*, upon the authority of the MS. history of the family, that Mark Duncan, doctor of medicine and professor of philosophy at Saumur in the beginning of the 17th century, was the grandson of John Andrew Duncan, and was born in England. But the truth is, that this learned man was a native of Scotland. This appears from the verses of his son, Mark, (known in France as a wit and a soldier by the name of *De Cerisantes,*) prefixed to a work of his father's. (Marci Duncani Institut. Logicæ, edit. 3. Salm. 1643.)

Ecce Caledoniis Dvncanvs natus in oris.

And again, addressing the book,

Scotia cumprimis pernice adeunda volatu,
Namque patrem tellus edidit illa tuum.

If any other proof of this fact be wanting, it is supplied by the following document. "Carolus, &c. Certum facimus et testamur prenominatum Marcum Duncanum legitimum ex legitimo matrimonio et generosis parentibus, oriundum esse, splendidisque familiis tam a paterno quam a materno genere descendisse, patre scilicet generoso viro Thomæ Duncano de Maxpolle infra Vicecomitatum nſum de Roxburgh, avo etiam generoso viro Joanne Duncano de Logie infra Vicecomitatum nſum de Perth," &c. &c. (Litera Prosapiæ Marci Duncani Medicinæ Doctoris in inclyta civitate Salmuriensis in Gallia, Oct. 5. 1639. MSS. Diplom. in Bibl. Jurid. Edin. W. 6. 26. p. 23.) A letter from Mark Duncan (A Saumure le 14 d'Aoust 1639) requesting this attestation of his pedigree and another from his son, Fr. Duncan Sainte Helene, are preserved among the Scotstarvet Papers. (Ibid. A. 3. 19. Nos. 82, 87.)

Note E. p. 12.

Of Melville's academical education.—The following is the matriculation list for the year in which he entered the university.

Decimus Rectoratus Mgri Joannis Douglasii, præpositi Novi Collegii Mariani 1559.

Noïa Incorporatorum sub eodem Anno suprascripto, scilicet 1559.

In Novo Collegio Mariano	In Collegio Leonardino
Thomas Maytlande	Joannes Gordoun
Jacobus Lundie	David Leirmonth
Robertus Lundie	Robertus Leirmonth
Michael Wemis	Valterus Heclyng
Joannes Ramsay	Gulielmus Collace
Andreas Mailuile	Andreas Symsone
Joannes Moncur	Archibaldus Hoige
Jacobus Lowsone	Gulielmus Braidfute
Jacobus Hāmyltoun	Thomas Beggart
Duncanus Skeyne	Archibaldus Bankheid
Jacobus Fullartoun	David Houesone
	Johannes Roull.

"None (says Dr Lee) are mentioned as having entered St Salvator's College this year, but in 1560 there are more in that seminary than in both the others; or, to speak more correctly, in 1560 there are *seven* in St Mary's, *four* in St Leonards, and *seventeen* in St Salvator's.—There is a red line under *Jacobus Lowsone*. I have reason to believe that this was drawn by the pen of Andrew Melville, as there are some marginal notes throughout the volume, which appear to me to be in his hand writing, all in red ink. Similiar lines are drawn under such names as *Robertus Kilpont*, *Johannes Rove*, and *Johannes Robertsoun*, in 1545."

That Melville took his degrees at St Andrews is attested by his nephew. (Diary, p. 33.) This is not authenticated by the records of the university, which are defective at this period. In 1562 there are only *five* bachelors, and in 1563 *eight* masters of arts. In 1564 there is no list of either bachelors or masters.

Note F. p. 28.

Civil Law prohibited to be taught in the University of Paris. —The author of "Mélanges tirés d'une grande Bibliotheque" (tom. ix. pp. 245—6. a Paris, 1780.) says, that Roman Law was taught in the University of Paris from the first discovery of the Pandects, and that Budæus was appointed professor of it in the Royal College by Francis I. I suspect that Budæus never held that situation. It is true, that occasional lectures on this science were delivered at Paris. (See above p. 28.) But these were of an extraordinary kind, similar to "shagling lectures" in England, (Wood's Athenæ, by Bliss, vol. i. col. 43.) which were read by individuals who obtained a dispensation to this purpose, in consequence of the celebrity which they had obtained in their profession. The writer above referred to endeavours to explain away the prohibition of Honorius III., by alleging that it refers only to ecclesiastics; but it is sufficient to read the papal decree to be satisfied that it does not admit of such an interpretation. It proceeded not only on the ground of the University of Paris being properly a seminary of theology, but also upon the assumed fact that causes were not decided in that part of France upon the principles of Roman Law. (Bulæus, Hist. Univ. Paris. tom iii. 96.) In 1562, a request was presented, in behalf of certain students driven by the civil war from the other French universities, that the doctors of canon law should read lectures on civil law. But it was not granted. In 1568 a permission of this kind was granted, on the powerful consideration that young men were in danger of imbibing heretical opinions at the other seminaries; but in 1572 the universities of Orleans, Poitiers, &c. obtained a decree prohibiting the Canonists of Paris from granting licences to Advocates. This decree, though superseded for some time, was finally confirmed in 1579. (Bl. tom. vi. pp. 552, 658, 662, 727.) The author of *Melanges* (*ut sup.* p. 248.) insists, but without good reason, that the ordonnance of Blois in 1579 merely prohibited the taking of a degree in civil law, without, at the same time, graduating in canon law

The following facts and illustrations, for which I am indebted to Dr David Irving, will set the matter in a clearer light.

In the year 1220, Pope Honorius the third strictly prohibited the civil law from being taught in Paris, or any place adjacent. "Sane licet sancta ecclesia legum secularium non respuat famulatum, quæ æquitatis et justitiæ vestigia imitantur: quia tamen in Francia et nonnullis provinciis laici Romanorum imperatorum legibus non utuntur, et occurrunt raro ecclesiasticæ causæ tales, quæ non possint statutis canonicis expediri; ut plenius sacræ paginæ insistatur: firmiter interdicimus, et districtius inhibemus, ne *Parisiis*, vel civitatibus, seu aliis locis vicinis quisquam docere vel audire jus civile præsumat." (Decret. Gregor. IX. lib. v. tit. xxxiii. § 28.) The spirit of this law is sufficiently explained in an *ordonnance* of Philippe le Bel, issued in the year 1312. "Ut autem liberius ibidem studium proficeret theologiæ, primogenitores nostri non permiserunt legum sæcularium, seu juris civilis, studium ibidem institui, quinimo id etiam interdici, sub excommunicationis pœna per sedem apostolicam procurarunt." (Terrasson, *Hist. de la Jurisprudence Romaine*, p. 442.)

That the same prohibition continued in force during the sixteenth century, is clearly evinced by an anecdote of the great civilian Cujacius. The civil wars having obliged him to relinquish his station in the university of Bourges, he retired to Paris; where he could not be permitted to read lectures on the civil law without a special dispensation. By an *arrest* of the parliament of Paris, dated on the second of April 1576, he was authorised to teach in the university, and, in conjunction with the professors of the canon law, to confer degrees in his own faculty. "Ladite Cour, attendu la qualité du tems, et sans tirer à conséquence, a permis et permet audit Cujas faire lectures et profession en droit civil en l'université de Paris, á tels jours et heures qu'il sera par lui avisé, avec les docteurs-régens en droit canon en cette ville: permettant audit Cujas et docteurs donner les degrés à ceux qu'ils trouveront avoir fait cours le tems requis, et selon que par l'examen ils les auront trouvés capables: validant ce qui aura été fait en cette part, comme si fait avoit été en l'une des autres universités

fameuses de ce royaume.' This *arrest* may be found at the end of Terrasson's History of the Roman Jurisprudence.

The prohibition of teaching the civil law at Paris was soon afterwards renewed by the *ordonnance* of Blois, issued in the year 1579; and it was only removed by an edict which the parliament registered on the eighth of May 1679.

Note G. pp. 39, 40.

Of Henry Scrimger.—It has been stated by different writers that this learned man was allied to the ancient and honourable house of Diddup. His genealogy may be more exactly traced from the Diary of James Melville. That writer, in speaking of Scrimger, calls him "my eam" (Diary, p. 35.) The word *eam* or *eme* (from the French *ami*e, a friend or relation,) had then the appropriated meaning of *uncle*. Thus, Alexander Erskine of Gogar, Master of Mar, is called *eme* to the Earl of Mar, and in the same document he is called his *uncle*. (Act. Parl. Scot. iii. 158, 159. comp. 101, 102.) Again, James Melville calls Alexander Young "my cousing" (Ib. p. 26.) and we know that Young's mother was a sister of Henry Scrimger's. (See above, p. 52.) Now James Melville's mother was "Isabell Scrymgeour, sister to the laird of Glaswell for the time." (Diary, p. 14.) It is proper, however, to state, that the only ground which I have for saying that *Walter* was the name of the father of Henry Scrimger, is the following. "Oct. 1. 1549. Jacobus Scrymgeor hæres Walteri Scrymgeor de Glaswell patris." (Inquis. Spec. Retorn. *Perth*, num. 8. comp. num. 40.)

Scrimger distinguished himself at the University of St Andrews. In the register of graduations for the year 1534, after "Rotulus graciosus," containing the names of three who obtained the degree of master "propter importunas supplicationes," there follows: "Rotulus istorum sequēciū rigorosus secundum rigorem examinis et meritorum. Hen. Scrimgeor pūs:" intimating that he was placed at the head of the list, not in virtue of his rank, but in consequence of his having submitted to a strict examination. In 1533, when he passed bachelor, he is marked *d.* or *dives*, and of St Salvator's college.

It appears from his preface to the Greek text of Justinian's

Novells, that Scrimger intended to publish a Latin version of that work, as well as annotations. His edition is mentioned with commendation by several civilians. Cujas says: "In postrema editione Novellarum, quam Henricus Scrimgerus vir doctissimus hoc anno procuravit, qua re equidem pro mea parte ei multum me deberi confiteor." (Cujacii Observ. p. 170.)

The only other work which he appears to have published, was a narrative of the case of Spira. It was printed along with the narratives of the same case, written by Petrus Paulus Vergerius, Matthæus Gribaldus, and Sigismundus Gelous, under the following title: "Francisci Spieræ, qui quod susceptam semel Euāgelice ueritatis professionē abnegasset, damnasset; in horrendā incidit desperationem, Historia, A quatuor summis uiris, summa fide conscripta cum clariss: uirorum Prefationibus, Caelii S. C. & Jo. Caluini, & Petri Pauli Vergerii Apologia: in quibus multa hoc tempore scitu digna grauissimè tractantur. Accessit quoq; Martini Borrhai, de usu quem Spieræ tum exemplum, tum doctrina efferat, iudicium. 2 Petri 2. Satius fuisset eis non cognouisse uiam iustitiæ," &c. 12° p. 200, including Index, besides seven leaves at beginning: A to M in eights. It has neither name of printer, place, nor date, but was probably printed at Basil in 1550 or 1551. At p. 62, Scrimger's narrative commences: "Exemplum memorabile desperationis in Francisca Spira propter abiuratam fidei confessionem Henrico Scoto autore." Extends to end of p. 95. It begins: "Citadella est agri Patauini municipium non ignobile. in eo Franciscus Spera fuit, homo, cum inter suos inprimis honestus ac locuples," &c. Speaking of Scrimger's narrative, Cœlius Secundus Curio says, in his Preface: "Alterius explicator & scriptor Henricus est natione Scotus, homo doctus, disertus, grauis, & quod ad historiā scribendam requiritur maximè fidelis, & bonus."

Scrimger left his library to his nephew, Peter Young, whose brother, Alexander, brought it to Scotland. (Smith, Vita Petri Junii, p. 4.) Buchanan, at Young's desire, offered his MS. to Christ. Plantin to print. (Epist. xii. xiii.) Casaubon obtained the use of his notes on Strabo, and applied for those on Polybius, when he published his editions of these authors. (Casaub.

Epist. pp. 182, 306. edit. Almel.) He speaks very highly of them in his letters to Young, but has been accused of not duly acknowledging his obligations to them in his printed works. It appears from Casaubon's letters, that Scrimger was allied to Henry Stephens by marriage. (Comp. Maittaire, Stephan. Hist. pp. 238, 249.) A letter of Scrimger's is inserted in that work. (p. 239.) The following is the most particular account, that I have met with, of the ancient authors on whom he left notes, and of the number of manuscripts of each from which he collected his various readings.

Demosthenem cum quinque Manuscriptis diversis.
Thucydidem cum duobus
Herodotum cum 2^bus
Strabonem cum 3^bus
Gorgiam Platonis cum 1°
Arrianum de gestis Alexandri cum 2^bus
Xenophontem cum 3^bus
Plutarchi Opuscula cum 3^bus
Ejusdem Vitas cum 2^bus
Phornitum et Palefutum, (Phornuthum et Palæphatum) cum antiquo plane diverso ac prope alio ab impresso.
Harpocrationem cum 1°
Eusebii historiam Ecclesiesticam, Theodoreti, Socratis et aliorum cum 2^bus multis locis non solum emendatum, sed integris fere paginis auctum.
Animadversiones in Diogenem: in Platonem: in Laertium: in Euclidem: in Athenæum: in Herodianum: in Theonis sophistæ progymnasmata: in Diodorum Siculum: in Lysiæ λογον ἐπιταφιον: in Appollonium grāmaticum: in Heliodori Ethiopica.
Dav. Buchananus, De Scriptoribus Scotis Illustribus, num. 54. MS. in Bibl. Jurid. Edin. W. 6. 34.

To this list may be added (from Dempster, 587.) "Basilicō libros," and (from Tanner,) "Ciceronis Philosophica."

The following verses to his memory are by an unknown poet.

Scrimgerus vitā exegit ter lustra quaterna
Tresque annos, testæ fictilis hospes ovans,

Scotia cui natale solum, fatale Geneva,
Gallia Atheneum, Roma magisterium,
Amphitheatrum orbis totus, Germania census,
Doctrinarum orbis laus, patria alma polus.
D. Buch. ut supra. Num. 54.

Note H. p. 50.

Of a suppressed political tract of Beza.—The following extract from the records of the city of Geneva relates to this. "30 dit (Juillet, 1573.) Livre de Monsieur de Beze defendu. Monsieur de Beze aiant composé et fait imprimer un livre, intitulé *De Jure Magistratuum*, lequel aiant eté examiné par les Seign^rs Varro, Bernard et Roset, il fut trouvé que ledit livre n'etoit pas de saison, quoi qu'il ne contient rien que de vrai; mais parce qu'il auroit pu causer des troubles, on en suprima l'impression de meme que les exemplaires qui en avoient eté deja facts." (Recueil de diverses particularitez concernant Geneve, p. 123. MS. Bibl. Jurid. Edin.)

Though suppressed by order of the senate, copies of this work went abroad; and it was frequently reprinted, in Latin and French. The first edition is sometimes mentioned as printed in 1573, and sometimes in 1574. (General Dictionary Hist. and Crit. vol. x. pp. 311, 327.) In 1576, it was printed in French and in Latin. In 1578, a French edition appeared with the following title: "Du droit des Magistrats sur leur subjets. Traicté tres necessaire en ce temps, pour avertir de leur devoir tant les Magistrats que les subjets: *publié par ceux de Magdebourgh l'an* M.D.L.: & maintenant reveu & augmenté des plusieurs raisons & examples." De Thou and Bayle were both deceived by the words in Italics, and concluded that this was merely a new edition, with additions, of a book published in 1550. But these words were inserted by the publisher for the purpose of concealment; no such book was published in 1550; and this is merely another edition of the treatise *De Jure Magistratuum in subditos, et officio subditorum erga Magistratus*, originally printed at Geneva in 1573. (See the Critique, on Bayle's Dissertation on the Book of Stephanus

Junius Brutus, by the Parisian Editor of his Dictionary, § XI. XXXIII.) It is inserted in a collection of political tracts by Joan. Nicol Stupanus, Professor of Medicine at Basil, printed at Montbelliard in 1599; and in a valuable historical work, entitled "Memoires de l'Estat de France, sous Charles IX." (tom. ii. pp. 483—522. Anno 1578.)

The learned are now agreed in ascribing the *Vindiciæ contra tyrannos* to Hubert Languet. But Beza was long suspected of being the author of that work. The first writer, as far as I know, who named him as the author of the treatise *De jure Magistratuum*, was Sutcliffe, in one of his controversial pieces against the presbyterians. A different opinion was entertained by others besides the defenders of Beza; and John Boccaria, who wrote a refutation of it in 1590, supposes it to be the production of a lawyer,—"versatum in literis humanis, præsertim historiis, atque si divinare licet leguleium, in divinis haud adeo multum." (Refut. cujusdam Libelli, p. 9.) The extract which I have given at the beginning of this note shews that Sutcliffe was right in his conjecture.

This treatise is well written and well reasoned. The principles which it maintains are the same with those of the *Vindiciæ*: indeed Languet's work is properly an enlargement of Beza's. But the latter is more guarded than the former, both in the questions which it agitates, and in the language which it holds upon them. It is, however, far from being undecided or evasive. The following propositions, among others, are advanced and confirmed by reason, Scripture, and history: That the authority of God only is absolute and unlimited; that when irreligious or unjust commands are laid on us we are not merely to decline obeying them, but also to act in such a manner as to discharge our duty to God and our neighbour; that every kind of resistance by subjects to their superiors is not unlawful and seditious; that rulers are created for the people and not the people for rulers; that a just resistance by arms is not inconsistent with Christian patience and prayer; ("I extol Christian patience as a distinguished virtue; I detest sedition and every kind of confusion; I acknowledge that

prayer and repentance are proper remedies against tyranny, when it is sent by God as a judgment and a scourge: but I deny that, on this account, it is unlawful for a people oppressed by manifest tyranny to use other just remedies along with prayer and repentance.") that it is the duty of all to oppose those who endeavour to usurp dominion over their fellow-citizens; that a usurper may become a lawful magistrate, by obtaining the consent of the people; that resistance to magistrates does not necessarily imply their deposition; that inferior magistrates, though installed by the sovereign, do not depend upon him but upon the sovereignty of the state, and that they, and the estates or parliament of a nation, who are appointed as a check on the supreme magistrate, may and ought to restrain him when he violates the laws and becomes tyrannical; that all kings are bound, either by express or tacit agreement, to rule justly and for the good of the people; that the public good and the rights of the people are paramount to those of any individual, however exalted; that though private persons are not warranted in any ordinary case to resist rulers by force, yet they may apply to inferior magistrates for redress, and concur with the estates of a kingdom in imposing restraints upon tyrants, or in emancipating themselves from the yoke of tyranny; and that although religion is not to be planted or propagated by arms or force, yet when the true religion has been established in any nation by public authority, or when the liberty of professing it has been obtained, it is lawful to maintain and defend it by force against manifest tyranny, and so much the more because what relates to conscience and the souls of men is of greater importance than mere secular concerns. (Memoires de l'Estat de France, ut supra.)

Note I. p. 55.

Melville's Panegyric on Geneva.—This is contained in a poem entitled, "Epitaphium Jacobi Lindesii, qui obiit Genevæ, 17. Cal. Jul. 1580." (Delitiæ Poet. Scot. ii. 123.)

Celtarum crudele solum, crudelia tandem
Regna dolis Italorum atris, & cæde recenti

Carnificum dirorum infamia, (Sequana qua se
Obliquat flexu vario, qua Matrona Belgas
Irrigat: immitesque Liger, tristesque Garumna
Permutat populos: & gurgite sanguinis alti
Qua Rhodano se jungit Arar, sua flumina miscens
Purpurea: exanimesque artus laniataque membra
Matrumque, infantumque ævi discrimine nullo,
Aut sexus teneri; vastum protrudit in aequor
Piscibus impastis pastum monstrisque marinis)
Exuperas gressu impavidus, certusque salutis:
Jam Genevam, Genevam veræ pietatis alumnam,
Florentem studiis caelestibus omine magno
Victor ovans subis: ac voti jam parte potitus,
Jam Bezae dulci alloquio Suadaeque medulla,
Et succo ambrosiæ coelesti, & nectaris imbre
Perfusus; jam Danæi *(a)* immortalia dicta,
Cornelique *(b)* Palæstinas, Portique *(c)* Sorores
Grajugenas: jam Serrana *(d)* cum lampade, Faii *(e)*
Phoebæas artes geminas, clarumque Perotti *(f)*
Sidus, Gulardique jubar, *(g)* lumenque Pinaldi, *(h)*
Et Stephani *(i)* Musas varias operumque labores,
Necnon ingentis Calvini ingentia fata,

(a) Lambert Danæe, professor of Divinity at Geneva, and afterward at Orthes in Bearn, and at Leyden.

(b) Cornelius Bonaventura Bertramus, professor of Hebrew at Geneva.

(c) Franciscus Portus, professor of Greek there.

(d) Jean de Serres (Serranus) one of the pastors of the territory of Geneva in 1572, and Rector of the Protestant College of Nismes in 1578. He was distinguished as a historian, and suspected, but apparently with injustice, of engaging in measures hostile to the protestant interest by embarking with those who were called *Reconcilers.*

(e) Antoine de la Faye (Faius) pastor and professor of theology at Geneva. He was Doctor of Medicine.

(f) Charles Perrot, pastor and rector of the academy of Geneva.

(g) Simon Goulart, pastor of Geneva, and well known as a writer, and the correspondent of Scaliger, Du Plessis, &c.

(h) Monsieur Pinauld, pastor of Geneva (Epistres Franc. a M. de la Scala, p. 122. 267, 447.)

(i) Henry Stephens, the learned printer of Geneva.

Et magnum atque memor Keithi *(j)* magni, atq; sagacis
Glaspaei *(k)* desiderium, sanctique Collessi *(l)*
Edoctus.—

Note K. p. 63.

Specimen of Melville's method of private tuition.—"That quarter of yeir I thought I gat greitter light in letters nor all my tyme befor: whowbeit at our meitting in my convent I thought I could haiff taked to him in things I haid hard as he did to me as a master of arts. bot I perceivit at annes y^t^ I was bot an ignorant babble and wist no^t^ what I said nether could schaw anie vse y^r^of bot in clattering and crying. he fand me bauche in the latin toung, a pratler vpon precepts in logick w^t^out anie profit for the right vse, and haiffling soum termes of art in Philosophie w^t^out light of solid knawledge. yit of ingyne and capacite guid aneuche wherby I haid cunned my dictata and haid them ready aneuche. he enterit y^r^for and conferrit w^t^ me sum of Bowchanans Psalmes, of Virgill and Horace qlk twa namlie Virgill was his cheiff refreshment efter his graue studies, wherin he lut me sie no^t^ onlie the proper latin langage and ornaments of poesie bot also mair guid logik and philosophie then ever I haid hard befor. I had tean delyt at the grammar schole to heir reid and sung the verses of Virgill taken w^t^ the numbers y^r^of (whowbeit I

(*j*) William Keith, son of Lord William Keith, and brother of George Earl Marischal, who was unfortunately killed in an excursion into the country, while prosecuting his studies at Geneva. Beza, Gaulter, and other learned men honoured his memory with elegies.

(*k*) George Gillespie, was a regent in St Mary's College, St Andrews, and died at Geneva. The Records of the University (Jan. 6. 1575) mention that the Rector gave in the accompts, "vice M. Georgii Gillaspie, quæstoris facultatis artium, causata ejus decessu in Galliam."

(*l*) William Collace, a regent in St Leonard's College. (See above p. 60.) "Not long efter (the summer of 1575) Mr Andro receavit Letters from Monsieur de Bez, and therin amangis the rest, '*Collaceus vester, exemplar omnium virtutum, nuper apud nos vita functus est.*' This was my guid regent quha efter the ending of our course had gean to france and coming to Geneva ther died, a great loss to the kirk of God in his countrey, for he was solidlie learnit, hartelie addicted to divinitie, with a sincear zeilous hart." (Melville's Diary, p. 42.)

knew no^{t} what numbers was till he tauld me) and haid mikle of him par ceur, bot I understud never a lyne of him till then. He read a comedie of Tyrence w^{t} me schawing me that ther was bathe fyne latin langage and wit to be lernit. y^{t} of langage I thought weill bot for wit I merveld and haid no^{t} knawin befor. He put in my hand the Comentares of Cæsar comending him for the simple puritie of the latin toung. also Salust and read w^{t} me the coniuration of Cateline. He had gottin in Paris at his by coming Bodin his method of historie qlk he read ower him selff thryse or four tymes y^{r} quarter, annes w^{t} me and the rest whill I was occupied in the Greik Grammar, qlk he put in hand of Clenard causing me vnderstand the precepts onlie and lear the παραδιγματα exactlie; the practise wherof he schew me in my buik going throw w^{t} me that Epistle of Basilius and causing me lern it be hart bothe for the langage and the mater. y^{r}efter to the new Testament and ged throw sum chapters of Mathew, and certean comfortable places of the epistles namlie the Romans. And last entering to the Hebrew I gat the reiding declynations and pronons and sum also of the conjugations out of Martinius grammar qlk he haid w^{t} him, and schew me the vse of the Dictionair also qlk he haid of Reuclins* w^{t} him. And all this as it war bot pleying and craking, sa y^{t} I lernit mikle mair by heiring of him in daylie conversation bathe that quarter and y^{r}efter, nor ever I lernit of anie buik, whowbeit he set me euer to the best authors."

Melville's Diary, pp. 37, 38.

Note L. p. 69.

Books anciently used in the University of Glasgow.—The following extracts from the records were obligingly sent me by Doctor Macturk, Professor of Church History at Glasgow.

* *John Reuchlin*, or Capnio, published his Hebrew Grammar and Dictionary (the first ever composed by a Christian or in Latin) in the year 1506. But perhaps Melville used the Dictionary translated from Hebrew by *Anthony Reuchlin* in 1554, and of which an abridgement by Lucas Osiander appeared in 1587.

Congregatione facultatis artium tenta &c. anno Domini 1475 tertio die mensis Novembris presentati fuerunt &c.

Eodem Anno Reverendus in christo Pater ac Dominus, Dominus Johannes, Dei et apostolicæ sedis gratia, Episcopus Glasguensis, infrascriptos donavit libros Pedagogio Glasguensi ad usum et utilitatem Regentium inibi pro tempore existentium.

In primis unum volumen in pergameno in quo continentur textus Phisicæ Aristotelis completus quatuor libri de cœlo et mundo, duo de Generatione, quatuor Metheororum, liber de causis proprietatum elementorum, Liber de Mundo, liber de lineis indivisibilibus, Liber de inundatione fluvii, Item liber de Bona fortuna, Epistola quædam Aristotelis ad Alexandrum, tres libri de anima Liber de sensu et sensato, liber de Memoria et Reminiscentia, Liber de Sompno et Vigilia, Liber de longitudine et brevitate vitæ, Liber de spiritu et respiratione Liber de morte et vita, Liber de motu animalium, Liber de progressu animalium, Liber de Phisonomia, Liber de Pomo Liber de Spiritus et animæ Item liber de vita Aristotelis.

Item in alio Volumine Papirio donavit idem Reverendus Pater In primis quoddam Scriptum continens questiones super octo libros Phisicorum Item questiones super tribus libris de cœlo et mundo Item questiones quasdam super tribus libris Metheororum Item quasdam questiones super duobus libris de Generatione Item quasdam questiones super tribus libris de anima Item quasdam questiones super libro de sensu et sensato Item quasdam questiones super libris de memoria et reminiscentia sompno et vigilia Item quasdam questiones de longitudine et brevitate vitæ

Sequuntur libri quos donavit ad usum et utilitatem Regentium in facultate artium in Pædagogio Glasguen pro tempore inibi existentium bona memoriæ venerabilis vir Magister Duncanus Bunch quondam Canonicus Glasguen et in dicto loco principalis Regens.

In primis unum volumen bene ligatum in Pergameno in quo continentur textus predicabilium Purphurii, (*sic*) textus Aristo-

telis super veteri arte, Liber sex principiorum Gilberti Porritani, Liber Divisionum Boetii et liber Thopicorum ejusdem et textus Aristotelis super nova Logica complete.

Item in alio papirio volumine Textus super tribus Libris Aristotelis Item in eodem duo libri Elencorum rupti in fine Item duo libri Posteriorum Item commentum alberti super Phisica Aristotelis in Pergameno Item questiones Phisicales in parte magistri Joannes Elmir Item duo libri de generatione

Item in uno volumine questiones super quinque libris Metaphisicæ

Item in uno volumine questiones super libro de anima cum tribus libris Metheororum cum quibusdam aliis excerptis

Item in uno volumine Textus Metaphisicæ complete in Pergameno

Item Glossa Petri Hispani secundum usum Mag^ri Johannis Elmir super quinque tractatibus

Item in alio volumine duo libri de Anima

Item questiones super quinque libris Metaphisicæ

Item questiones super octo libris Phisicorum

Item una Biblia in Pergameno in parvo volumine litera optima complete Scripta.

The books mentioned in the following list were presented in the year 1483.

Sequuntur libri quos Donavit ad usum et utilitatem Regentium in Facultate artium in Pedagogio Glasguen pro tempore inibi existentium bonæ memoriæ Johannes Browne canonicus Glasguen et in dicto Pedagogio olim Regens.

In primis unum Volumen in quo continentur tres libri de cœlo et mundo, Duo libri de Generatione et corruptione, Libri methorum tres libri de anima de sompno et vigilia Item aliud Volumen continens questiones logicales complete Item unum Volumen in quo continentur auctores Philosopiæ Naturalis et Moralis cum sex principijs tractatu de Spera et Algorismo cum quibusdam moralibus questionibus Item unum volumen continens questiones metaphisicales. Item unum volumen continens glossam Magistri Petri Hispani Item unum volumen in quo continentur sex tractatus Petri Hispani cum textu Por-

phyrii Item unum volumen antiquum in quo continentur questiones de anima Item Glosa Petri Hispani super certis tractatibus Item volumen in quo continentur octo libri Metaphisicæ Item tractatus super textum Purphyrii cum aliquibus questionibus Item unum volumen in quo continentur sex libri Ethicorum Item unum volumen in quo continentur questiones sancti Thomæ super certis libris Phisicæ Item scriptum super quibusdam libris Phisicorum Item Scotus secundum librum Purphyrii et scriptum Johannis Burlaw in uno volumine Item primus tractatus super suppositionibus Item super diversis dubiis Item unum volumen quod incipit Utrum Logica sit Scientia, &

Note M. p. 69.

Distinguished persons educated at the University of Glasgow. —*Bishop Elphingston's* name is in the list of those who were incorporated in 1551, at the first opening of the university. It is written simply "Willus Elphinstoun," from which it is probable that he entered as a student, and had then no title or office in the church.

Willielmus Manderstoun proceeded Bachelor of Arts, at Glasgow, 4 November 1506. (Annales Fac. Art.)—Dec. 1525. Guill. Manderston, Scotigena, Licent. in Medic. Rector universitatis Parisiensis. (Bulæus.)—Wilelmus Manderston, doctor in Medicina, Rector de Gogar, Rector of the University of St Andrews, anno 1530. He is the author of the following work: "Bipartitum in Morali Philosophia opusculū ex variis autoribus per magistrum Guilielmū Māderston Scotū nuperrime collectū: Et pro secundo impressione cum nouis additionibus ab eodem appositis recusum.—Vaenundantur in aedibus Gormontianis." It is dedicated by the author "reuerēdo in christo patri & domino: domino Jacobo Beton: sancti Andree archipresuli: ac totius Scotie primati & cancellario suoq mecenati." Prefixed to it are a copy of Latin verses by William Greyme of Pintree, and an epistle in prose with the inscription, "Robertus Gra. medicinae amator praeceptori suo vilelmo Manderstō apollonie artis professori peritissimo." The colo-

phon, on fol. cclx. is in these words: "Explicit opusculum in morali philosophia bipartitū a magistro Guillermo Manderston Scoto diocesis sācti Andree nuperrime impressum Parthisiis Anno a Nativitate domini Millesimo quingentessimo vicessimo tertio, Die vero decima quarta Januarij." In small 8vo.

The first edition of this book was printed "Parrhisijs 1518," in 4to. at the same press. The Colophon states that it was "nuperrime collectū dum regeret Parisius in famatissimo diuæ Barbaræ gymnasio," a. d. 1518. 14 kal. April. The work itself is very jejune. There is an earlier book by Manderston, which I have not seen: "Tripartitum epithoma doctrinale & compendiosum in totius dialecticæ artis principia. Lutetiæ Paris. 1514." 4to.

Extracts respecting Major and Knox have been given from the records in Life of John Knox, vol. ii. pp. 465—467. 4th edit.—In 1514. we find "Dauid Melwyn principalem regentem Glas." Melville went to St Andrews, and from 1517 to 1520 he is frequently mentioned in the records of that university, under the designation "Dauid Maillwill Regentem Principalem Pedagogii Sanctiandreæ."

"*John Ade* sacre theologie professor" is mentioned in the registers of Glasgow, 29 March 1521; and on the 23 March 1521, (i. e. 1522,) John Ade, professor of theology, and provincial of the order of predicant friars, or Dominicans, presided at a theological lecture and disputation in the university. Hector Boece informs us, that he was the first person who received the degree of Doctor of Divinity at the newly erected University of Aberdeen; and that as provincial of the Dominicans he introduced a salutary reform into that religious order. (Vitæ Episcop. Aberd. & Murth. See also Milne's Hist. of Bishops of Dunkeld.) In 1506, Robert Park, prior of the predicant friars at Perth, gives a charter "cum consensu & assensu rev. patris David Andreæ prioris provincialis ejusdem ordinis in regno Scotiæ."—August 20. 1517 "Ro. Lile prior fr. pred. burgi de Perth" grants a charter with consent "ven. p^ris, n^ri fratris Johannis Adamsone prioris provin. ord. n^ri." Adamson was dead in 1526, for in that year we find "Johannes

Gresoun prior provincialis ejusdem ordinis in regno Scotiæ." (Transcripts from Charters of the Convent of Blackfriars at Perth, by the Rev. Mr Scott, in Advocates Library.)

The following entries appear to relate to the Superintendent of Lothian.—" Die Sabbati xxvii June 1534 Incorporati—Dñus Johannes Spottiswood Scrivus."—8 Feb. 1535 " Dominus Joannes Spottiswood" proceeded bachelor.—1536. " electi fuerunt quatuor intrantes viz.—Magr Joannes Spottiswood." In the same year and in 1543, he was chosen one of the deputes of the Rector. (Annales Fac. Art. et Annales Univ.)

David Beaton (afterwards Cardinal) was matriculated of this university on the 26th of October, 1511.

The names of the following young men of rank occur in the lists of incorporati, or matriculated students.

24th Oct. 1457 Andreas Steward Subdecanus Glasguen frater illustrissimi Regis Scotorum Jacobi secundi

1473 Joannes Stewart filius comitis de levenax et dñi de Dernly

1482 Mattheus Stewart filius primogenitus et heres nobilis et potentis dñi comitis de levenax et dñi de Dernly

1488 Alex. Stewart filius Comitis de levenax

Rob. Stewart filius ejusdem comitis

Patricius Grahame filius german. comit. de Montrose

1489 Gavinus Douglas filius dñi de Drumlanrig

1492 Alexander Erskyne filius dni de Erskyne studens. Under the year 1495 is the following minute, in the *Annales Collegii Facultatis artium:* " Eodem Anno processerunt ad gradum Bachallariatus sub Magistro Patricio Covyntre, Alexander Erskyne, filius dni de eodem, qui et gloriosum actum celebravit et solus ingentes expensas fecit;" that is, he gave a splendid feast to the university at his laureation.

1510 Joannis Stewart magister de levenax filius et apparens heres Matthei com. de levenax et dni de Dernle

1534 Joannes Campbell filius comit. de Argile

1553 Joannes Cunynghame filius comit. de Glencarne.

It was the custom at Glasgow for every bursar to give *a silver spoon* upon his being admitted to the college table.

Note N. p. 70.

Queen Mary's grant to the College of Glasgow.—This is antedated in the common accounts of the university. It was "given under our privie scile at Glasgow the threttene of Julij the zeir of God $1^{m}v^{c}$ thre score and thre zeiris."—"fforsamickle as within the citie of Glasgow, ane college and universitie was devisit to be hade, quharein the zouth micht be brocht up in lettres and knawlledge, the comoun welth servit and vertue incressit, off the quhilk college ane parte of the sculis and chalmeris being biggit, the rest thairof alsweill dwellingis as provision for the puir bursouris and Maisteris to teche, ceissit Sua that the samin apperit rather to be the decay of ane universitie nor any wyse to be reknit ane establissit fundation And we for the zele we beir to lrēs and for the gude will we have that vertew be incressit within our realme, have foundit and erectit and be thir our lrēs foundis and erectis five puir children bursouris within the said college to be callit in all tymes cuming bursouris of oure foundation and for furnessing and provesion to be maid to the saidis five bursouris," gives and grants certain lands, mailes &c. belonging to "the freiris predicatouris within the said citie." The deed further states that the queen intends "als to mak the said college to be provydit of sic ressonable living that thairin the liberale sciences may be planlie techet sielike as the samyn ar in utheris collegis of yis realme Sua that the college foirsaid salbe reputet oure fundation in all tyme cuming And to that effect we ordane that quhenever the maister thairof or any of the bursouris of the samyn happenis to deceiss That utheris in thair roumes be placit be us and or successouris That the memorie of the said gude will we beir to vertew may remane to the posteritie to cum." (Records of University of Glasgow.)

Note O. p. 80.

A Dream.—"The collage haid monie pleyis in law depending yt yeir and Mr Piter blakburn was œconomus and speciall acter yit because the estimation of Mr Andro was graitter,

he desyrit him at certean perempter dyettes to be present in Edr. ffor sic a dyet being to go to Edr Mr Piter comes in to his chalmer in the morning heavie and grim lyk. being inquyrit by the principall what ealed him, he answerit I haiff dreamed an vnsell * dream and I am some thing solist after it. What is it sayes he. Me thought we war sitting at our collag burde and a cup full of barnie drink befor ws. I luiked to the cup and I thought I saw a read heidit tead lepe out of it and craled vpe vpon the wall, the qlk I percewed and dang down and tramped vnder my feit. And as I turned I saw an other lepe out also, quhilk whowbeit I followed it gat away in a holl out of my sight. Be not solist says he Mr Piter I will interpret your dream and warrand the interpretation trew for a pynt of wyne. for suthe sayes the vther and it be guid a quart. The collage burd and cup is our collage leiving; into the quhilk twa read nebbit teades hes intrusit thom selff. they ar the twa read neased compeditours of our collage against the quhilk yie haiff presentlie the actiones viz. Jhone Grame the first, whom yie persewing at this dyet clim als weill as he will on the wall of the law yie sall ding down and overcome. the vther is the read faced commissar Mr Archbald Beaton, wha by some wyll sall eschew presentlie and win away. Assure thy selff man thow sall find it sa. Mr Piter lauches and sayes he was worthe the wyne whow euer it was. for the twa men war verie read and tead lyk faced for ploukes and lumpes. And in deid it cam sa to pass; for they brought hame a notable decreit of reduction of a few of the freires yeard aganist Jhone Grame, and the vther by moyen and ernist solistation gat the action delayit and brought to arbitriment." (Melville's Diary, pp. 49, 50.)

* unhappy or ominous

Note P, p. 87.

Act of the Privy Council respecting Alexander Cunninghame's submission.

Apud Sanctandrois xxix^{o} Julij anno lxxx^{o}

Anent o^{r} souerane Lordis lrẽs raisit at the instance of Maister James meluile ane of the Regentis of the vniuersitie of Glasgw Makand mentioun That quhair Alex^{r} Cũninghame zounger of clonbey^{t} burges and induellar of Glasgow vpoun the xx day of Junii instant being at his tabill at dennar w^{t} certane vtheris threatnit and showit be mony despitefull wordis to be revendgit of the said Mr James for correcting of Alex^{r} Boyd his scollar And continewing the rest of that day in his malicious mynd and boisting langage quhill efter nyne ho^{rs} at ny^{t} And findand then occasioun to put his foirtho^{t} ewill mynd to executioun he houndit out the said Alex^{r} Boyd to stryke the said Mr James w^{t} ane battoun q^{lk} battoun wes gevin to him be the said Alex^{r} Cũninghame And the said Mr James beand cũand throw the hie kirkzard of Glasgow to the college w^{t}out ony kynd of armo^{r} Belevand na ewill to haue bene done to him by ony persoun The said Alex^{r} Boyd be the persuasioun and hounding out as said is of the said Alex^{r} Cũninghame perseuit and strak at the said Mr James behind his bak w^{t} the said battoun q^{lk} straik he eschewit be his suddane turnig about At q^{lk} time the said Alexr Boyd being effrayit and astonisheit be the saidis Mr James wordis and countenance drew him self asyde luiking for the assistence of the said Alex^{r} Cũninghame quha to performe his weikit interpryis come rỹnand vpon the said Mr James w^{t} ane drawin swird in his hand sweiring and boisting w^{t} many vglie aithis that he sould hoch and slay him calling him oftymes knaif and saying that he wes ouir pert to ding that boy. lyke as in deid the said Alex^{r} Cũninghame had not there faillit to haue bereft the said Mr James of his life gif be godis providence he had not bene stayit ffor the q^{lk} caus he being persewit. thairefur befoir the recto^{r} and assesso^{rs} of the said vniuersitie and baillies and counsale of the citie of

Glasgw At last he wes fund be thame to haue done wrang in trubling persewing of the said Mr James in maner foirsaid and thairfoir ordanit to cum to the place quhair he offendit to haue acknawledgit his falt and to haue askit the said Mr James and the haill vniuersitie pardoun and forgifnes q^{lk} the said Alex^{r} Cuninghame not onlie refusit and refuissis to obey and fulfill being requirit thairto Bot still boistis and bragis to attempt forther iniurie and inuasioun of the said Mr James Sua that be this forme of doing discipline is ordinarie exercises interruptit and the myndis of the zouth drawin away fra thair studyis quhairvpoun alsua further inconvenient is abill to follow w^{t} out his hienes and the lordis of secreit counsale provyde tymous remeid And anent the charge gevin to the said Alex^{r} Cūninghame To haue compeirit personallie before o^{r} souerane lord and lordis of secreit counsale at a certane day bipast to haue ansrit to this complaint and to haue hard and sene ordo^{r} taikin anent the same as appertenit vnder the pane of Rebellioun and putting of him to the horne w^{t} certificatioun to him and he failzeit vthirwis lrēs sould be direct simpl^{r} to put him to the horne like as at mair lenth is contenit in the saidis lrēs Quhilkis being callit and baith the saidis partiis compeirand personalie Thair ressonis and allegationis togidder w^{t} the said decreit gevin and pronūcit be the foirsaidis judges and thair assesso^{rs} being hard sene and considerit be the saidis lordis and they rypelie auisit thairwith The Lordis of secreit counsale In respect of the said decreit Ordanis the said Alex^{r} Cūninghame To compeir in the hie kirkzard of Glasgw quhair the speciall falt wes cōmittit vpoun the sevint day of August nixt to cum betuix foure and fyve houris eftir none And thair bairheidit to confes his said offence first to the rector in name of the vniversitie and baillies in name of the toun and to the said Mr James partie offendit And to ask God and thame forgifnes thairof and to tak thame be the handis in signne and taikin alsweill of his humiliatioun as reconsiliatioun And to purge him that he wes not steirit vp thairto be na maner of persoun Or ellis that he entir his persoun in ward within the castill of blaknes w^{t} in xlviij houris eftir the said sevint day of August

And remane thairin thaireſtir vpoun his awin expensis ay and quhill he be fred be o^r souerane lord vnder the pane of rebellioun and putting of him to the horne with certificatioun to him and he failzie the saidis xlviij houris being bipast he salbe incontinent y^reſtir denūcit his ma^teis rebell and put to the horne and all his movabill guidis escheittit to his ma^teis vse for his contemptioun.

Note Q. p. 90.

Reparation of the Cathedral of Glasgow.—The following extract from the Records of the Town Council shews the interest which the Magistrates took in this business.

Die xxi^mo Mensis Augusti Anno Domini &c. lxxiv.

Statutum

The quhilk day The provost, baillies and counsale w^t ye Dekyns of the crafts and divers utheris honest men of the town convenand in the counsal here and havand respect and consideration to ye greit decaye and ruyne y^t ye hie kirk of Glasgow is cum to, thro^t taking away of the leid, sclait and uther gray^t thereof in yis trublus tyme bygane sua y^t sick ane greit monument will allutterly fall down and decay w^tout it be remedit. And because the helping y^rof is sa greit and will extend to mair nor yai may spair And yat yai ar no^t addetite to ye uphalding and repairing y^rof be ye law zet of thair awn free willis uncompellit and for ye zeil yai beir to ye kirk of meir almouss and liberallity sua yat induce na practick nor preparative in tymes coming, conform to ane writing to be mead thereanent All in ane voce hes consentit to ane taxt and imposition of tua hundreth punds money to be taxt and payit be ye township and freemen yairof for helping to repair ye said kirk and halding of it waterfast and for casting and making thereof hes apointit yir persons following viz the Dekyn of ilk erfat John Arbuckle, Thomas Normant Matthew Watson flesher, Patrick Howe litster, Robert Muir merchand, William Maxwell, David Lindsay Elder, Andr. Baillie, Robert Steuart, Master Adam Wallace George Herbertson, John Fleming, William Hiegate, Robert Fleming, Thomas Spang and Johne Lindsay and to convene on Tysday next for endyng y^rof.

It appears from the Records of the Kirk Session that the ministers zealously co-operated with the magistrates. December 7. 1586, it was appointed that the provost, baillies, and deacons of crafts, and ministers of Glasgow convene in the college kirk to give their advice and judgement anent repairing the High Kirk. Jan. 25. 1588. The session appoints commissioners to the General Assembly to desire a commission with license to [from ?] the King's Majesty for reparation of the High Church of Glasgow the best way the town and parish of the same may. March 7. The Commissioners appointed by the King's Majesty anent repairing the High Kirk, and hail brethren of the kirk session of Glasgow thinks guid that the laigh steeple be taken down to repair the mason work of the said kirk, and that the bell and clock be transported to the high steeple and that the kirk have a quinzee left at the steeple foresaid for the relief thereof. (Could this be the order which occasioned the riot referred to by Spotswood? If so, it happened ten years after Melville had left Glasgow.) Aug. 1. The Session desire the Council to send Commissioners to the Assembly, as for other things so to seek the Assembly's assistance for obtaining at the King's hand and counsel money for helping and upholding the parish kirk at Glasgow: or else to get a new commission to entertain the kirk with itself as it may best. Dec. 29. 1603. The records mention a right Mr David Weemes had made to him from the dean and chapter of Glasgow to pursue the gentlemen in whose hands services of money were laid by the said Dean and Chapter for repairing, and beautifying and decoring the Metropolitan kirk of Glasgow.—The records abound with resolutions and orders to the same effect. (Extracts from Records of Kirk Session of Glasgow: Wodrow's Life of Mr David Weemes, pp. 5, 6. MSS. vol. 3.)

Note R. p. 91.

Library of the University of Glasgow.—A list, entitled *Catalogus Librorum Bibliothecæ publicis Sumptibus Academiæ empti*, besides such works as those of Cicero, Aristotle, and Augustine, contains,

The hail Actes of Parliament.

The Bible of Govan and College.

Historia Scotorum manuscripta, autore G. Buchanano.

Empti Sunt opera Thomæ Jackei quæstoris Academiæ 1577.

Thesaurus linguæ Græcæ Henrici Stephani quatuor voluminibus ab heredibus Andreæ Polwarti emptus.

Ex dono viri boni Thomæ Jackaej

Ambrosii Opera fol.

Gregorii Romani Opera duob. voluminib.

Maister Peter Blackburne ane of the Regentis of the College at his departing to Aberdein. left and gave to the College as follows

Ane new gnāl Cart stentit upon buirdes sett out be Gerardus *Jode* Antuerpiæ 1575.

Tabulæ Vessalii with this inscription anatomes totius æro insculpta delineatio. fol. magno Paris. CIↃ. IↃ.LXV.

The names of some scholastic books follow, and on the margin is "Ex dono Petri Blakburni ante descessum 8 Novemb. 1582."

A list of 33 volumes consisting of works of the fathers, Erasmus, Pagninus &c. has this note prefixed, "Decimo Junij 1581. D. Jacobus Boydæus, Episcopus Glasguen. has omnes Collegio Glasg. testamento reliquit."

14. July 1586 "Magister Archibaldus Craufurd Rector universitatis & ab Eglischem, in monumentum τῆς φιλομουσιας," presented to the College "Platonis Opera" and "Sebastian Munster's Hebrew Bible."

A list of books to the number of 60 or 70 volumes is preceded by this note: "Libros hosce sequentes ipsa vetustate notabiles Collegio Glasguēsi testamento legavit reverendus senex M. Johannes Huesonus Ecclesiæ Cambuslangensiæ pastor anno 1619."

The list of books presented by Buchanan to this College may be seen in Irving's Memoirs of Buchanan, Append. No. 8. 2nd. edition.

Note S. p. 111, 114.

Of Alexander Syme and Edward Henryson.—" Marie be ye grace of god quene of Scottis &c Forsamekle as it is vnderstand to oure derrest moder Marie quene drowriare and regent of oure realme That ye want and laik of cunning men, raritie and skarsines of thame to teche and reid within our realme hes bene ye occasioun of ye decay of knawlege and science within ye samin swa yat yir mony zeris bigane yair hes bene few yat applyit yame or gaif yair studie to obtene letters And yat florischeing of letters knawlege and science nocht allanerlie to ye plesure of ws and our successouris, and to oure and yair perpetuale honour and fame Bot also to the greit decoring of ye countrie and vntellable proffeit of oure liegis quhilk sall follow yairvpoun, gif be authorising of cunning men all liberall sciences beis frielie techit florisa and incress, and We vnderstanding that oure weilbelovite clerk maister Alex. Sym hes spendit his haill zouthheid past in vertew and science, and having experience of him yat he is habill to reid, instruct, and teiche Thairfor &c." grants him a pension of 100 lib. Scots, during the Queen's pleasure—" To ye effect yat he sall await vpoun our said derrest moder, and be hir Lectoure and reidare in ye lawis or ony vthiris sciencis, at oure burt of Edr or quhair he salbe requirit be our said derrest moder yairto, And alsua to gife all vthiris zoung mene of fresche and quyk Ingynis occasioun to apply yair hale myndis to studie for like reward to be hade of ws in tyme cuming, &c. At Ed. Feb. 5. 1555." (Register of Privy Seal, vol. xxviii. fol. 10.)

Mr Alexander Sym was appointed one of the examinators of the master of the High Scool of Edinburgh, " in grammar, greik and latein." The following is the list of these " men cūning and experte in the saidis sciences," who may be presumed to have been the most distinguished for learning in the country: " Maisters George baquhannane, George Hay, Alexander Sym, David Colass, Johnne craig minister of halierudhous, James panter, James Kinpont, Clement litill, Johnne henderson, and Johnne Spottiswood superintendant of Lo-

thian." (Register of Town Council, Oct. 3. 1562.) In 1567, Mr Alex. Sim was appointed one of the procurators for the Church. (Cald. ii. 81.) He was alive in 1573, when he was appointed procurator, along with Edwart Henderson, to appear for the College of St Leonards before the Lords of Counsel. (Pap. of Univ. of St Andrews.)

Henryson's first work was a translation of a treatise of Plutarch: "Plutarchi Septem Sapientvm Convivivm," published in "Moralivm Opvscvlorvm Plvtarchi Tomus Tertius—apvd Graphivm, Lvgdvni 1551." 12mo. The Dedication is inscribed, "D Hvldrico Fuggero Edvardvs Henrisō S. P. D." A copy of this book, belonging to the University of St Andrews, has on the title-page the author's autograph, "Edward Henryson," with a number of corrections of errors of the press by the same pen. (This book has also the autograph of "G. Hay rvthwen." George Hay, sometimes called parson of Ruthven, and at other times parson of Eddilston, was a brother of Andrew Hay, parson of Renfrew, and for many years Rector of the University of Glasgow. Cald. ii. 618, 619. An account of his Answer to the Abbot of Crossraguel has been given elsewhere. Life of Knox, ii. 311, 446. In April 1576, "Certane brether appointit to oversie the booke wrytin be Mr George Hay contra Tyrie." Buik of Univ. Kirk, p. 65.)

In 1555, Henryson published a defence of Baro against Govea, on the subject of the distinction between magistratical and judicial authority. "Edvardi Henrysonis Pro Eg. Barone adversus A. Goveanvm de Jurisdictione Libri II. Parisiis 1555." 8vo. fol. 80. The Dedication, "Ad Hvldrichum Fuggerum Kirchbergi & Vveissenhornia dominum," is dated "Paturigibus quarto nonas Octob. An. do. M. D. LIV." He informs Fugger that he had planned the work in his house—"in Michaelis tua," and that he considered all his literary labours as due to him in virtue of the pension which he had from him—"tibi tui stipendij iure debentur." A copy of this work in the Advocates Library has the following inscription in the author's handwriting: "D. Joanni Henrysoni Eduard Henryson author amoris ergo D.D. postridie Calend. No. 1555."

This work, as well as Henryson's Commentary on the title of the Institutes which treats of *Testaments*, was republished by Meerman: Novus Thesaurus Juris Civilis et Canonici, tom. iii. Meerman says the *Comment. de Testamentis ordinandis*, was printed at Paris 1556, in 8vo. In the dedication of it to Michael D'Hopital, dated from Bourges, "7 Cal. Jul. 1555," Henryson says, that the second year of his teaching Civil Law in that place was then running. His name, however, does not occur in two published lists of the professors of that University. (Meerman, Nov. Thes. iii. Præfat. p. vii.)

The following note is written on a blank leaf of *Arriani Epictetvs*, Gr. in the Library of Edinburgh College. (A. T. a. 10.) It must be in the handwriting of Henryson's son. "Fuit hic Doctoris Eduardi henrysonis liber E quo transtulit in linguam latinam Epicteti Enchiridium et arriani Commentarios de Epicteti dissertationibus in Ædibus Reuerendissimi viri Henrici Sancto Claro tum decani Glasguensis postea Episcopi Rossensis Eduardi Mæcenatis Anno 52 post Millesimum Quingentissimum. Antequam in publicum prodierunt Jacobi Scheggii Eruditissimi Et Hieronymi volphii Ælingensis Interpretis optimi Eruditæ Et doctæ conuersiones. Mentionem facit Volphius Interpretationis Thomæ Naogeorgii quam non videre mihi contigit licet sedulo perquisierim Cur autem pater suam versionem Henrico Sanclaro dicatam non Ediderit Secuta Luctuosissima illi Mæcenatis mors Et typographorum Apud nos penuria Et Statim postea tantorum virorum lucubrationes Editæ in Gallia fuere." Some of the statements in this note are at least dubious. Henry Sinclair, bishop of Ross, did not die until Jan. 2. 1565. The translation of Arrian by Scheggius was published in 1554. Henryson was with Fugger in 1551; and it is not very probable that he was in Scotland during the following year.—Dempster (Hist. Eccl. Scot. p. 350.) mentions a translation of another work of Plutarch by Henryson: "Plutarchi Commentarium Stoicorum Contrariorū. Lugduni, 1555."

In 1563 "Maisteris James Balfour persoun of flisk, Ed. henrysoun, Clement littill aduocatis and robert Maitland," were established Commissaries of Edinburgh: Balfour had 400

merks, and the rest 300 merks each, for their "feis yierlie." (Reg. of Privy Seal, vol. 32. fol. 79.) Henryson is known as the editor of the Scots Acts of Parliament, which appeared in 1566. His name occurs in a list of Advocates, May 22. 1585. (Papers of Hospital of Perth.) He was dead before March 10. 1591. (Inq. Retorn. *Edinburgh*. num. 1414.) Several particulars as to his family are mentioned in Maitland's History of Edinburgh, p. 198. His talents and his patronage of science are celebrated by John Rutherfurd. (De Arte Disserendi, Prefat.)

Note T. p. 12.

Of Archbishop Adamson.—Dr Mackenzie is offended at the presbyterian historians for asserting that the Archbishop's name was *Patrick Constance*, and that he was a minister of the church of Scotland at the beginning of the Reformation. (Lives, iii. 365.) That he was called *Constyne*, *Constance*, or *Constantine*, is most unquestionable. Recommendatory verses by James Lawson and Robert Pont are prefixed to "Catechismvs Latino Carmine redditvs—Patricii Adamsoni Scoti poetæ elegantissimæ opera—Lekprevik, 1581 *." In his verses Pont says:

Vidit Patricivs cum Constantinus opellæ,
Admouitque manum noster Adamsonivs.

The following is the title-page of the first edition of one of Adamson's earliest works: "De Papistarvm Svperstiosis Ineptiis Patricij Adamsonij, Alias Constantini carmen. Matth. 15. Omnis plantatio &c. Impressum Edinburgi per Robertum Lekprewick: Anno 1564." (In Bibl. Coll. Edin.) Wilson, perhaps thinking the *alias* discreditable to his father-in-law, omitted the second name in his edition. It is unnecessary to

* This work was first printed at St Andrews in 1573. (Melville's Diary, pp. 27, 28.) Charters mentions both editions, (Acco. of Scots Divines, p. 2); as does also Sibbald. (De Script Scot p. 24.) In his dedication of it to the young king, the author informs James, that he had composed it with the view of assisting in his education.

produce other proofs. If any of the presbyterian historians have asserted that the archbishop changed his name, they are mistaken; for he inherited both designations from his ancestors. Dionysius Adamson or Constantine was Town Clerk of Perth toward the close of the fifteenth century. He is mentioned in thirteen charters from 1491 to 1500, and is sometimes designed *Adamson* and sometimes *Constantine*. (Extracts from Registers of Births &c. in Perth, by Rev. James Scott; now in the Library of the Advocates.) The writer of *Vita P. Adamsoni*, subjoined to *Melvini Musæ*, (p. 45.) says the bishop was the son of Patrick Constan, a baker. Mr Scott says that Patrick Adamson or Constantine, who was a magistrate of Perth in 1541, and died Oct. 23. 1570, had a daughter named Violet, and three sons, Patrick, Henry, and James. Violet married Andrew Simson, master of the grammar school of Perth. Patrick became archbishop of St Andrews. Henry was killed on the street of Perth, April 16. 1558. James held the office of provost of Perth from 1609 to 1611, and was the father of Mr Henry Adamson, the author of the poem entitled *Gall's Gabione*. (Extracts from Registers, ut supra.)

In 1558, "Patricius Constyne," of St Mary's College, was laureated. (Rec. of Univ. of S. And.) In 1560, "Mr Patrik Coustone" (Constone) was declared by the General Assembly qualified "for ministring and teaching." (Keith, Hist. 498.) Dec. 1562. "Mr Patrik Couston (*Constance*. Buik of Univ. Kirk.) if he be not chosen, for St Johnston, for Aberdeen." (Keith, 519.) June 1564 "Mr Patrick Constance minister of Syres desyreing the licence to pass to france and vther countreyes for augmenting of his knowledge for a tyme, The haill assemblie in ane voice dissentit yrfra." (Buik of Univ. Kirk, p. 11.) "Accingenti se ad iter vir Dei Johannes Cnoxus maledixit, quod tam ampla messe et tanta operariorum penuria gregem deseruisset, ut ea quæ sunt mundi quæreret." (Melvini Musæ, &c p. 45.)

The presbyterian writers say, that Adamson, on his return to Scotland, betook himself a second time to the ministry, and that, being disappointed of the archbishopric of St Andrews,

he preached a sermon, about the time of Douglas's consecration to that See, in which he told the people, "There are three sorts of Bishops; my Lord Bishop, my Lord's Bishop, and the Lord's Bishop. My Lord Bishop was in the time of Popery: my Lord's Bishop is now, when my Lord gets the benefice, and the bishop serves for nothing but to make his title sure: and the Lord's Bishop is the true minister of the gospel." Dr Mackenzie summarily rejects this statement, as inconsistent with Adamson's account of himself, "that he was then at Bruges (Bourges) in France, nor did he return to Scotland till the year 1573." (Lives, iii. 365-6.) The writer of the life of Adamson in the Biographia Britannica, is displeased with Mackenzie for not exposing more particularly the anachronisms of which the presbyterian writers have been guilty; and having referred to dates and authorities "to put this matter out of dispute," he concludes that the whole is a scandalous story fabricated by men who were induced by "great spleen to write any thing that came into their heads, provided always the enemies of the Kirk were the objects of their invective." (Biogr. Brit. vol. i. p. 39. 2nd edit.) But it has happened to this writer as to those who contradict others on a subject on which they are themselves superficially informed. For, in the *first* place, Bannatyne, who was on the spot, has recorded in his *Journal* (p. 323.) that "Mr Patrik Cousting (Consting) preached" at St Andrews on the Friday before Douglas's consecration; and James Melville says that he heard the sermon, and has given the words used by the preacher as quoted above. (Diary, p. 27.) In the *second* place, in spite of the averments and presumptions of the writers referred to, it is unquestionable that Adamson had left France, and was in Scotland, when Douglas was appointed to the archbishopric of St Andrews, and even before the death of Hamilton, the former incumbent. Archbishop Hamilton was executed April 1. 1571; and Douglas was elected to the bishopric on the 6th, and consecrated on the 10th day of February, 1572. Now, Mr Patrick Adamson presented a petition to the General Assembly which met on the 6th of March 1572, "requesting them to

ratify his pension of 500 merks out of the parsonage of Glasgow, because he was willing to serve in the ministry." (Cald. ii. 343.) "The Assembly (A° 1571.) brotherly required Mr Patrick Adamson to enter again in the ministry." He answered that he would advise till next Assembly. (Ib. ii. 226.) "In the tenth Session (of the Assembly which met March 1. 1570.) Mr Patrick Adamson shewing that he was appointed by advice of the brethren then convened at Edin^r to await on Court, and preach to my lord Regent's Grace, and for that purpose was modified to him 500 merks be year, and had served 3 months upon his own expences: therefore requested the brethren to appoint when he should receive payment of his stipend pro rato, wch was done." (Ib. ii. 165.) "Gift of ane yeirlie pensioun of the soume of fyve hundreth merkis money of this realme—to Maister Patrik Adamsoun—from the personage of Glasgow &c. 25 day of August 1570." (Register of Benefices disponit sen the entres of the Noble and Michtie lord Matthew erle of levinax, lord dernelie, to the office of Regentrie, fol. 2.)

These authorities would have outweighed the testimony of Adamson himself, though he had asserted the contrary. But he has done no such thing. His words are: "Scripsi quidem in Gallia in ipso belli furore" (Dedic. in Catechis.); meaning the civil war which raged in 1567, 1568. Misunderstanding this, his son-in-law has said, "dum Martyrii *Parisiensis* rabiis conflagraret;" and Thomas Murray, proceeding on this mistake, adds, "in medio belli civilis quo Gallia *anno* 1572 conflagrauit, incendio." (Prefat. et Carm. ante Jobum.) In this way carelessness creates blunders, and blunders, acting on prejudice and spleen, produce calumny. I have entered into this examination, not on account of the importance of the facts to which it immediately relates (although truth is preferable to error in all things), but because it affords a fair specimen of the ease with which all the common charges of falsification may be refuted, which writers of a certain description have brought against Knox, Buchanan, Calderwood, and other presbyterian historians.

It would seem that Adamson had some connection with the

University of St Andrews, while he was minister of Ceres. At least, the preface to his poem, *De Papistarum Ineptiis*, is dated, "Sanctiandreæ 4. calendas Septembris. Anno 1564. Ex pædagogio." Among the works ascribed to him is a eucharistical poem to queen Elizabeth for the liberation of Scotland from civil war. (Graii Oratio de Illustr. Scot. Script. p. xxxii. Mackenzie's Lives, vol. i. Charters: Sibbald.) He was probably the author of the Latin translation of the Scots Confession of Faith, published by Lekprevik, "Andreapoli Anno Do. M. D. LXXII." Subjoined to it are a specimen of his paraphrase of Job, and an epitaph by him on Walter Mill the martyr. This is the epitaph inserted in Spotswood's History, p. 97. Among the Cottonian MSS. are two epitaphs "per Patriciũ Constantinũ Scotum;" one on Bishop Jewel, and another on the Duke of Guise. (Calig. B. 5. 58.)

Note U. p. 132.

Of Davidson's Memorial of Kinyeancleuch.—The following is the title of this rare poem: "A Memorial of the life & death of two vvorthye Christians, Robert Campbel of the Kinyeancleugh, and his wife Elizabeth Campbel. In English Meter. Edinbvrgh. Printed by Robert Walde-graue Printer to the King's Maiestie. 1595. Cum privilegio Regali." Black letter, C in eights. The running title is: "A Memoriall of the life of two worthie Christians." The dedication "To his loving sister in Christ, Elizabeth Campbel of Kinyeancleveh," is dated "From Edinburgh the 24. of May. 1595. Your assured Friend in Christ I. D."—"Finding this little Treatise (Sister, dearelie beloued in Christ) of late yeares amongst my other Papers, which I made about twentie yeares and one agoe, Immediatlie after the death of your godlie Parentes of good memory, with whome I was most dearlie acquainted in Christ, by reason of the troble I suffered in those daies for the good cause, wherin God made them chiefe comforters vnto me till death separated vs. As I vewed it over, and reade it before some godly persones of late, they were most instant with me, that I woulde suffer it to come to light, to the stirring vp of the zeale of God's people among vs,

which now beginneth almost to be quenched in all estates none excepted. So that the saying of the worthie servaunt of God *Iohn Knox*, (among many other his fore-speakings) proueth true, that is; "*That as the gospel entred among vs and was receiued with fervencie and heat: so he feared it should decay and lose the former bewtie, through coldnes, and lothsomnesse, howbeit* (as he saide many times) *it should not be vtterlie overthrown in Scotland, til the coming of the Lord Iesus to iudgment, in spite of Satan & malice of all his slaues.*"—Elizabeth was the heiress of the *two worthie Christians* "after the death of their onely Sonne, Nathaniel."

I have already given an extract from this Poem. (See above, p. 414.) After mentioning that poets in all ages had celebrated those who excelled in any "vertuous deid," or which appeared to them "like vertue," the author says:—

So we finde deeds of vassalage,
Set foorth by Poets in all age,
Even of *Gray-Steill*, wha list to luke,
Their is set foorth a meikle buke,
Yea for to make it did them gude,
Of that rank Rouer *Robene Hude:*
Of *Robene Hude* and little *Iohne*,
With sic like Outlawes many one:
As *Clim* of the *Clewgh* and *Cliddislie*,
Because of their fine archerie.

* * * * *

Then to beginne but proces more,
We haue had worthie men before:
Of all degries these fyftene yeers,
As the *gude Regent* with his feeres:
Iohn Knox that valyant Conquerour,
That stood in many stalward stour:
For Christ his maister and his word,
And many moe I might record:
Some yet aline, some also past,
Erle *Alexander* is not last,
Of *Glencarne*, but these I passe by,
Because their deeds are alreddy

By sundrie Poets put in write,
Quhilk now I neid not to recite.

Kinyeancleugh's zealous and active exertions at the commencement of the Reformation are commemorated:

Sa priuatelie in his lodgeing,
He had baith prayers and preaching:
To tell his freinds he na whit dred,
How they had lang bene blindlins led:
By shaueling Papists, Monks and Friers,
And be the Paipe these many yeares:
When some Barrones, neere hand him by,
And Noble men he did espie,
Of auld who had the truth profest,
To them he quicklie him addrest:
And in exhorting was not slak,
What consultation they would tak,
How orderlie they might suppresse,
In their owne bounds that Idole messe:
In place thereof syne preaching plant,
To quhilk some noble men did grant.

* * * * *

Quhilk they did soone performe in deede
And made them to the wark with speede:
And had some preaching publictlie,
Where people came maist frequentlie:
Whiles among woods in banks and brais,
Whiles in kirkyards beside their fais:
Thir Novells through the Countrie ran,
Quhilk stirred vp baith wife and man.

* * * * *

When they puld downe the Friers of *Air*,
Speir at the Friers gif he was thair:
The Lard of *Carnele* yet in *Kyle*,
Quha was not sleipand al this while:
And *Robert* wer made messengers,
Send from the rest to warne the Friers:

Out of those places to deludge,
  Howbeit the Carls began to grudge:
Either with good will or with ill,
  The keyes they gave thir twa vntill:
After their gudes they had out tane,
  So greater harme the Friers had nane:
Far vnlike to their crueltie,
  In their massacring boutcherie.

* * * * *

Then *Robert* like a busie Bie,
  Did ride the post in all Countrie:
Baith North and Sowth, baith East and West,
  To all that the gude cause profest:
Through *Angus*, *Fyfe* and *Lawthiane*,
  Late iournies had he many ane:
By night he would passe forth of *Kyle*,
  And slip in shortly to *Argyle*:
Syne to *Stratherne* and to all parts,
  Where he knew godly zealous harts,
Exhorting them for to be stoute,
  And of the matter haue no doubt:
For although said he we be few,
  Having our God we are anew.

Davidson praises Kinyeancleugh's lady for encouraging him in these disinterested expeditions, instead of grudging the expence which he incurred, as some wives did. In describing the ungracious reception which the husband of one of these thrifty dames received at his home-coming, the poet informs us of the arrival of a singular female colony in Scotland, whose race, it is to be hoped, is now extinct among us; although, perhaps, some acute and keen-set antiquary may be able still to track them, and, stoically fearless of "a rebegeaster," to point out some descendants of these Norwegian Amazons.

He might look as they tell the tail,
  When he came hame for euill cooled kaill:

Ze haue so meikle gear to spend
Ze trow never it will haue end:
This will make you full bare there ben,
Lat see (sayes she) what other men,
So oft ryding a field ye finde,
Leauing thair owne labour behinde;
This and farre mair had oft bene told,
Be many wiues, yea that we hold,
Not of the worst in all the land,
I speak not of that balefull band:
That Sathan hes sent heir away,
With the black fleete of *Norroway*:
Of whome ane with her Tygers tong,
Had able met him with a rong:
And reaked him a rebegeastor,
Calling him many warlds weastor.

Kinyeancleugh (accompanied by Davidson, who was then under concealment) had gone to *Rusko*, a seat of the *Laird of Lochinvar*, where he sickened, and died on the 22d of April 1574. His wife died in the month of June following. Davidson praises his protector's piety, charity, lenity to his tenants, and his wisdom and integrity in settling private differences, on which account he was employed by rich and poor, both of the popish and protestant persuasion.

Note V. p. 132.

Of John Davidson, principal of the College of Glasgow.— Charters, in his account of Scottish Divines, and Wodrow, in his Life of John Davidson, have confounded the Principal with the author of the poem mentioned in the foregoing note *. The latter (who became minister of Libberton, preached for some time in Edinburgh, and died minister of Prestonpans,) was a student of St Leonard's College, in the University of St

* There was a third person of this name who was alive at the same time. Mr John Davidsone was minister of Hamilton in 1567. (Keith p. 575.) in 1578, (Melville's Diary, p. 45.) and in 1589. (Cald. iv. 139.)

Andrews, from 1567 to 1570. The former had been at the head of the College of Glasgow many years before that period. "Die xxiv° octobris anno 1556. Incorporati sub præscripto Rectore—Magr Joannes Dauidson vicarius de alness." The same year he was chosen one of the four intrants for electing the Rector. And on the 25th of Oct. 1557, he is designed "principalis regens pedagogii Glasguen." (Annal. Univ. Glas.) In 1559, "Mag. Johānes Dauidsoun principalis regens pedagogii seu universitatis Glasguen" signs two deeds relating to the College rents; and in 1560 another is subscribed by "Mr Johne Dauidsoun principall regent of yᵉ pædagog of Glasgow." I have not been able to ascertain at what time he died, but believe his name occurs for the last time in the records of the university about the year 1572.

The following is the title of a book published by him: "Ane Answer to the Tractiue, set furth in the zeir of God, 1558. be Maister Quintine kennedy, Commendatar of Crosraguell, for the establisching of ane Christiane mannis conscience (as he alledgis) the Forth and strenth of his Papistrie, and all vthers of his Sect, as appearis weil be his Epistle direct to the Protestantes, and Prentit in the last part of this Buik. Maid be Maister Johne Dauidsone, Maister of the Paedagog of Glasgw. Colloss. 2. Bewarre &c. Imprentit at Edinburgh by Robert Lekprewik. Cum priuilegio. 1563." 4to. 34 leaves. The running title is: "The Confutatione of M. Q. Ken. Papisticall Councels."

After an address "To the Beneuolent Reader" is a dedication "To the maist Noble and vertuous Lorde Alexander, Earle of Glencarden." Having praised the exertions of his Lordship in the Reformation of religion, and stated that this answer was undertaken at his desire, the author goes on to say: "And because this buik of M. Q. contenit sa mony absurditeis, quhilk wald haue consumit great tyme, to haue confutit thaim all. It chancit weill, that ane lytle space before the beginning of the Reformation of the Religion, he excerptit furth of this hale Buik, ane Schort tractiue, contening the hale mater of his Buik, as the Coppy bearis that he send me, to

present to James Betoune, Archebischop of Glasgw (quha was my gude Maister and liberall freind, quhowbeit for religione we are now seperatit in ane part, as mony Fathers and sonnes is, in thir our dayis) to quhom I pray God, send the treuth and knawledge of his worde: at, that may vnit vs in Spirit and mynde againe together, that hes seperatit vs (as apperis) in our warldly kyndenes." At the end of the book is an answer to "Maister Quintine kennedeis Epistle to the Brethren Protestantes," in which Davidson reminds the Abbot he had sent him his *Schort Tractive*, "to haue bene presentit in that troublus tyme to James Betoune Archebischope of Glasgo, our gude Lorde and Maister, to haue had his Judgement and mynde of zour said buik, before that tyme laitly Prentit: quhilk for that present tyme, we approuit baith to be gude and godly, bot sen syne, I finding the Scriptures sa weill oppinnit, be the ordinarie meanis, quhareby God communicatis vnto men, the vnderstanding of his Scripturs, that I could nocht be langer of zour opinione, without I wald haue mantenit, as ane shameles man, that thing quhilk had nother ground of Scripture, gude reasone, nor approbatione of the Ancient Doctours. Quharefore, for the brotherly luife I beare to all men in Christe, and for the auld Parisiane kyndnes, that was betuix vs *, to bryng zour L. and the people of this countrie, fra the errour and blyndnes that this lytle buik of zours, hes haldin zow and thaim baith in. Be sindrie Scripturs and reasonis I haue trauellit, vsing me heirin, efter the commone maner of Reasoning, without dispyte, or reproche, and on the maist gentile maner I could, I haue schawin zow, quhow ze haue far ouersene zour self in this buik, of the quhilk, in my hart trewly I am sorie. Praying zour L. heirfore, gif ze finde the Reasonis I bring in againis zours, to haue euacuat the reasonis of zour buik in ony sorte: vnderstand my labours not to be, that I desyre zour L. (quha

* A commission by the Bishop of Aberdeen was executed at Paris, Sept. 13. 1552 "coram his testibus—Magistris Joanne Davidson vicario de Nyg, &c. (Keith's Scottish Bishops, p. 74.) But I cannot positively assert that this is the individual who was afterwards principal of Glasgow College.

excedis me far in vnderstanding, and in all kynde of subtile reasoning) to acknawledge zour self to be ouercum be me, bot lat the veritie beare away the victorie for vs baith."

The following notice is bestowed on Davidson's book by Ninian Winzet. "Of this mater I heir of a buke set furth be an honorable cõfessour of ye trew catholik fayth M. Quintine kennedie, a work cõpendit be sindry cunning men als weil of Ingland as of Scotland. And also laitlie I heif sein certane clatteris & I wate nocht quhat, nameit cõtumeliouslie in hie contempt of ye kirk of God, *A confutatioun of ye said M. Quintinis Papistical counselis.* Put out be ane of our wind-fallin brether, laitlie snapperit in the cummerance of Caluin. M. Johne Dauidsone, Quha for his parte of the new padzeane of his desperat brethir, wald be haldī a Dauidsone so doughtie, yat with a puft of his mouth he micht be iudgeit to cleik fra ye counselis, als weil general as wtheris, al auctoritie; in yat he dar be sa temeracious as to call yame papistical: yat is, as he intendis contumeliouslie be yat terme, dissaitful, wickit, leing ād erroneous. And sua impudentlie dar he affirme few Godly coũselis to hef bene othir, sen Syluestris days or afore; —zit he thinkis nocht al yat venum aneuch: bot affirmis als that yai hef bene few guid pastouris in ye kirk sen ye said Syluester. *O ingentem confidentiam!* My toung treulie, Madame, failzeis me to expres ye zele yat a faythful Christiane suld haif, for the house of God, aganis yir schameles clearis, aganis ye folie, yea ye phrenesie of yir proud pestilent protestantis, euery day desceding a step feryer to yair maister in hel." (Epistle Dedicatory "To ye maist Catholik, Noble, and Gratious Souerane Marie Quene of Scottis," prefixed to "Vincentivs Lirenensis of the natioun of Gallis, for the antiquitie and veritie of the catholik fayth, aganis ye prophane nouationis of all hæreseis. A richt goldin buke writtin in Latin about xl. C. zeiris passit, and neulie translatit in Scottis be Niniane Winzet a catholik Preist—Antverpiæ Ex officina Ægidii Diest, 1ₒ Decemb. 1563.")

As a number of books in favour of the Roman Catholic Religion were about this time translated into the Scottish language,

so the Reformers procured the translation of the most useful writings of foreign protestants. One of these appeared under the following title: "Ane Breif Gathering of the Halie Signes, Sacrifices and Sacramentis Institutit of God sen the Creation of the warlde. And of the trew originall of the sacrifice of the Masse. Translatit out of Frenche into Scottis be ane Faithful Brother. Math. 15. Euerie plant &c. Imprentit at Edinbvrgh be Robert Lekprevik. M. D. LXV." 4to. 46 leaves. Judging from internal evidence, I would be disposed to conclude that the epistle of "The Translatovr to the Reader" was written by John Knox. "I finding the commoditie of sume zoung men weill acquentit with ye French toung quhais labouris releuit me mekle in yis behalf: I haue causit yis litle Buike be set furthe in our Scottis toung to mak yè treuth knawin to all our countrie men, yat hes not ye knawledge of ye vther leid and yat it may be partely ane answer to Winzets Questiouns, quhil ye compleit answer be prepared for ye rest."—It appears from the following entry that a pension was for some time assigned to an individual whom the General Assembly employed to translate foreign books.

"And of the soume of ane hundereth threttty thre pundis sex schillingis aucht pennies pait be ye comptare to Williame stewart Translator of ye werkis and buikis as is tho^t^ necess^r^ be ye kirk to be translatit for edificatioun of ye people Conforme to the appointment of ye said buke of modificatioun

j^c^ xxxiij li vj s viij d."

(Accompt Coll. General of the Thridds of Benefices for the year 1561.)—Another entry in nearly the same terms is made in the accompt for 1562.

Note W. p. 138.

Of the High Schools of Glasgow and Edinburgh.—In the statutes of the Church of Glasgow, confirmed in the fourteenth century, it is declared, "Cancellarii officium est in scolis regendis et libris reparandis et corrigendis curam impendere, lectiones auscultare et terminare." (Chartul. Glasguens. tom. i. p. 540. Bibl. Coll. Glasg.) In 1404, Mr Martin Wan,

Chancellor of the Metropolitan Church of Glasgow, brought a complaint before the Bishop, (Robert Blacader,) against M. D. D. Dwne, a priest of the diocese, for teaching scholars in grammar, and children in inferior branches by himself apart, openly and publicly, ("per se ac separatim palam et manifeste") the said city, without the allowance and in opposition to the will of the Chancellor. Wan pleaded, that, by statute and immemorial usage, he had the power of appointing and deposing the master of the grammar-school, and of licensing or prohibiting all teachers of youth in Glasgow.—"instituend. et destituend. magrum scolæ grammaticalis civitatis glasguensis, curamquæ et regimen dictæ scolæ ac magisterium ejusdem habend. sic *quæ quod* absque illius magri martini cancellarii prænominati ac cancellarii dictæ ecclesiæ pro tempore existentis, nulli liceat scolam grammaticalem tenere, scholaresquæ in grammatica aut juvenes in puerilibus per se clam aut palam infra prædictam civitatem seu universitatem instruere et docere." The Bishop having heard the parties, considered the productions, and examined witnesses, decided, by the advice of his chapter, and of the rector and clerks of the university, in favour of the Chancellor, and prohibited Dwne from all teaching or instructing of youth or scholars, without license specially sought and obtained from the said Mr Martin, or the Chancellor for the time being. (Cartul. Glasg. tom. ii. p. 939.)

It appears from this that there was a grammar-school in Glasgow long before the year 1494. In the sixteenth century the situation of master of it was highly respectable. Among the *non-regentes* nominated to elect the rector, or to examine the graduates, the records of the university mention, in 1523 and 1525, "Matthæus Reid magr scolæ gramaticalis;" in 1549 and 1551, "Mag. Alexr Crawfurd mag. scolæ grãmaticalis;" and in 1555, "Archibaldus Crawfurd præceptor schol. gram."

The High School of Edinburgh had the same dependance on the Abbey of Holyroodhouse, which that of Glasgow had on the Cathedral Church. This is established by a very

curious document, a royal charter by James V. dated March 21. 1529, "Henrico Henrison super officio Magisterii Eruditionis in Schola Grammaticalis de Edinburgh." It ratifies and embodies a donation by George Bishop of Dunkeld, as Abbot of Holyroodhouse, with consent of the Convent of that monastery. This Donation bears, that "our Louit Clark and Oratour Maister Dauid vocat principale Maister and Techour of our Grammar scule of the burgh of Edinburgh has chosin his louit friende and discipill Maister Hary Henrisoun to be Commaister with him into the said skule," and to succeed to him after his decease; "And because we the saidis Abbot and Conuent understandis ye said Maister Hary is abil and sufficientlie qualyfyit therto, has made under him gude and perite scolaris now laitlie ye tym that he was Maister of our scule whithin our burgh of ye Canongate, Heirfor we, &c. ratifyis and approuis ye said admissioune of ye said Maister Hary to be Commaister, &c.," and gives and grants him "pouir and licence to be principale maister of ye said Grammar skule after ye said Maister Dauid deceiss—wit all and syndrie profitis, &c. and dischairgis all utheris of ony teching of Gramar Skules within ye said Burgh, except ye teching and lering of Lectouris allenerally under ye panys contenit in ye Papis Bullis, grantit to vs yerupon. And we with (will?) ye said Maister Hary Henrysoun heirfore be ane gude, trew and thankful servitour to ws and our Successouris enduring his lyftyme, and to be at hie solempne festiual tymes with ws and our successouris at ye mess and ewin sang with his surplis wpoun him to doe ws seruice ye tyme yat we sall doe diwine seruice within our said abbey as efferis.—ye ferd daye of Septemb. ye yeir of God 1524 yeiris." (Ex Diplomatum Collectione MS. vol. II. p. 350. Bibl. Jurid. Edin. Jac. V. 4. 23.)

During the disputes between the magistrates and Mr William Robertson, the right of the Abbot is taken for granted. April 8. 1562, the town-council agree to write to Lord James to deal with Lord Robert, (Abbot of Holyroodhouse,) for removing Mr W. Robertson from the grammar-school, for

granting the office of master "to sic ane leirnit and qualifeit man as yai can find maist abill yrfore and for vphalding and sustening ye sd m. & doctouris *as alsua of ye regentis of ane collage to be biggit wtin yis burgh.*" (Register of Town Council, vol. iv. f. 26.) April 11. 1562, Mr William Robertson produced "ane gyft grantit be abbot cairneros to vmqlc Sr Jhone allane." (Ib. f. 27.) He afterwards produced a gift to himself "be presentation of the abbat of halierudhous—of ye dait ye x day of Januar 1m vc xlvi yers," to which it was objected by the procurator of the town, (Oct. 3. 1562.) that it ought to have had the seal of the convent and the subscription of the Abbot of Cambusskenneth, administrator and governor of the Abbot of Holyroodhouse, who was then a minor under fourteen years of age. "The provost, &c. sittand in jugemēt as iugeis ordineris to the persoum of Mr Williame Robertsoun, haifand consent of robert commendator of halierudhous—findis yc said Mr W. vnhabill to exerce ye said office of scholemaister within ye said burt & yairfore decernis him to remove, &c." (Reg. ut sup. ff. 44, 45.) This is a very curious minute. Robertson continued to defend his right, and on the 6th of May 1565, the Queen interposed her authority in his favour. (Ib. ff. 128, 129.) On the 6th of March 1562, the council "ordainis ane writing to be maid in maist effectuous manner to Mr James Quhite scottisman in london——to accept upon him ye mastership of ye hie gramer scole, and becaus yai ar surelie informit hes greit proffit be his scole in londone, and yt he is ane man of excellent lerning baith in lating & greik ordanis ane yearlie pensioun to be given to him of iiij^{xx}li (fourscore pounds) of ye readiest of yair comoun gude, besyde and abone ye profet yt he sall haue of yo bairnis." (Ib. f. 60.) July 28, 1568, the treasurer is appointed to ride to St Andrews "for Mr thomas buchquhānane to be Maist. of yair hie scole." (Ib. f. 220.) He entered to the school on the 11th of February following, and appears to have left it about July 1570. (Ib. ff. 294, 260.) It would seem that he acted as assistant to his uncle during his residence at Stirling. For a pension of £100 was given

to "Mr Thomas buchannane Maister of ye grammar scole of Striueling, quha hes bene in the nowmber of his hienes houshald" and has bruiked the pension, "thir diuers years bygane.—Penult. Aug. 1578." (Reg. of Presentation to Benefices, &c. vol. ii. f. 2.)

It appears from the gift to Henry Henryson, that in 1524 there was a separate Grammar school in the Canongate. In 1580, "The baillies counsall and Kirk of the burt of the Canongait" entered a complaint before the Privy Council, in which they stated that they have "bene euir cairfull according to thair duteis that thair youth sould haue bene instructit and brot vp in the knowledge of god and gude lres And thairfoir hes had grammer sculis ane or ma And that not onlie sen reformatioun of religioun bot also in tyme of papistrie & past memorie of man. Quhill that Mr William Robertsoun scule-maister of Edinburt be sum solistatioun purchest of his hienes in the moneth of October last the confirmatioun of ane papisticall gift gotten in tyme of blindnes at the abbot of halieruidous then being in minority without consent of the convent And be the same hes stoppit and dischargit their sculis be the space of ane quartir of ane yeir or mair last bipast throw the qlk thair haill infantes and children are dispersit, &c.——The lordis of secreit counsall ffindis thameselfis not to be judges competent to the said mater and thairfoir remittis the samen to be decydit befoir the judges competent thairto as accordis." (Record of Privy Council, 9th Sept. 1580.)

Note X. pp. 157,—199.

Jerom and Beza on episcopacy.—Nothing has proved more puzzling to the *jure divino* prelatists, who feel a great veneration for the fathers, than the sentiments which St Jerom has expressed, in various parts of his writings, concerning the origin of episcopacy. A very curious instance of this occurs in Hooker's *Ecclesiastical Polity*. Hooker enters into an elaborate reply to the objections which the presbyterians have raised from Jerom's assertion, that the superiority of bishops to presbyters arose from custom rather than divine institution. In

the middle of this reply the following singular sentence occurs: "*This answer to Saint Jerom seemeth dangerous, I have qualified it as I may, by addition of some words of restraint; yet I satisfie not myself, in my judgment it would be altered.*" (Ecclesiastical Polity, B. vii. sect. v. p. 11. Lond. 1661.) It will be obliging if some of the admirers of the *Ecclesiastical Polity* will examine this passage, and furnish a key to its meaning, and the design with which it was introduced. In the mean time they are welcome to any assistance which they can derive from the following explication. It is known that the three last books (including the seventh) of the Polity were not published during the life-time of the author. In looking over his manuscript, what he had written on this part of the subject appeared to Hooker *dangerous*: he retouched it and qualified his expressions, but still his answer *satisfied not himself*; it required yet to be altered: and to keep this in mind he made a jotting of it on the margin. The manuscript coming into the hands of Dr Gauden, bishop of Exeter, he introduced the marginal note into the text and published both together. We may easily conceive how "the *judicious* Hooker" would have felt at seeing his acknowledgement of his perplexity in answering this objection thus ignorantly and rudely exposed to the public eye. Yet the blunder has been retained in all the editions which I have seen, from that of 1661 down to that which was lately printed at Oxford! The *Ecclesiastical Polity* is one of the books on which candidates for Holy Orders are examined; but this does not necessarily imply that either they or their examinators have made themselves masters of its meaning and contents.

Dr Gauden, in his gasconading style, boasts of the service which he has performed for the Church of England, and the confusion with which he has covered her enemies, by publishing the posthumous books. "After this Phœnix of learning and grace, of prudence and eloquence had collected this fair pile of his Ecclesiastical Polity—himself perished amidst his great undertakings:" And "his antagonists, finding themselves —sorely wounded—by this great Archer in his five first books —received some comfort in this that they escaped the shot of

his last three—and found, as it is by some imagined, some artifice so long to smother and conceal them from the publique." (Gauden's Life of Hooker, p. 23.) But honest Isaac Walton tells a more tragic tale. After Hooker's death, two puritan ministers, having obtained admission into his study, "burnt and tore" many of his writings; and his wife having confessed this to archbishop Whitgift, "she was found next morning dead in her bed." Walton goes on to tell a number of other stories, the design of which is to shew that the posthumous works were altered. (Walton's Lives, by Zouch, pp. 248—263.) He does not, however, refer to the passage under consideration, but to those places in which sentiments concerning political liberty too liberal for High Church are advanced. (Eccl. Pol. B. viii. pp. 191—195.) With respect to these, it may be remarked that expressions of the very same import occur in that part of the work which was published by Hooker himself. (Ib. B. i. pp. 19. 21. edit. ut. sup.) "The *seventh* book (says Dr Gauden) by comparing the writing of it with other indisputable papers, or known manuscripts of Mr Hooker's, is undoubtedly his own hand throughout." (Life of Hooker, p. 26.)

But leaving Jerom and Hooker, I shall slightly notice Beza's treatise *De triplici episcopatu*. The original I have not seen, but have now before me a copy of a translation of it into English. It is entitled, "The Jvdgement of a most Reverend and Learned Man from beyond the Seas, concerning a threefold order of Bishops, with a Declaration of certaine other waigtie points, concerning the Discipline and Government of the Church." C in eights. The running title is "The Jvdgement of a Learned man." Strype says, it was printed in the year 1580, and John Field was supposed to be the translator. (Annals, ii. 629.) It contains the questions transmitted by Lord Glamis, the Chancellor of Scotland which are six in number, and appear to be printed at full length. The second, which relates to *Councils*, states the objections which some urged against them, and which went to prevent entirely

the holding of ecclesiastical assemblies, unless when called for special purposes by the prince.

Note Y. p. 205.

Scottish press and edition of the Bible.—The following is one of the articles in a petition which the Assembly presented to the Regent in the month of August 1574. "Item It is understand to the Generall Assemblie be credible report of certain learned men lately arrived within this countrey that a french printer of the best renowned this day, nixt Henricus Stephanus, being banished with his wife & family from his countrey, hath offered unto them to come in Scotland & to bring with him three thousand franks worth of books, and to print whatever work he should be commanded, in so much that there should not be a book printed in French or Almain, but once in the year it should be gotten of him If he might have sure provision of a yearly pension of three hundreth merks, which indeed is ane offer so comfortable to the countrey & kirk that it ought not to be overseen That his G. will consider the same offer and take order therewith." (Cald. MS. ad. an. 1574.)

I know no printer to whom this description agrees so well as *Andreas Wechelius.* He was the son of *Christianus Wechelius*, a celebrated Parisian printer; and having embraced the reformed opinions, escaped the Bartholomew massacre under the protection of Hubert Languet, the ambassador of the court of Saxony. Wechelius quitted France in 1573, and established himself at Frankfort, where many valuable editions of the classics, corrected by the learned Sylburgius, proceeded from his press. (Peignot, Dict. Raison. de Bibliographie, tom. ii. 342—3.) It is probable that Melville, on his return from Geneva, had an interview with him, and brought home the information of his willingness to settle in Scotland.

Among the "Articles proponit to his Matie and counsal" by the commissioners of the General Assembly, in July 1580, is the following. "9. Because y^r is great necessitie of a printer within this countrey and y^r is a stranger banischit for religion callit Vautrolier y^t offers to imploy his labour in y^e

said vocation for yᵉ weill of yᵉ countrey It will please your G. & counsell to take ordour heirin as your G. thinks meit and to give licence & privilege to him for yᵗ effect if it salbe thocht expedient be your G. & counsell." (Buik of Univ. Kirk. p. 98.)

"Robert Lekprevik Imprentar in Edr" obtained, on the 11th of January 1567, the exclusive privilege, for twenty years, of printing all books in Latin or English, necessary "for the weill and commoditie of the lieges of this realme and als all sic thingis as tend to ye glorie of God." This was renewed on the 11th of Nov. 1570, with the specification of "the buke callit donatus pro pueris, Rudimentis of Pelisso, The actis of parlit maid or to be maid, The cronicle of this realme, The buke callit regia majestas, The psalmes of Dauid with the Inglis and Latine catechismes les & mair, The buke callit the Omeleis for readaris in kirkis, Togidder with ye grammer callit yᵉ generall grammer to be vsit within the sculis of ye realme for eruditioun of ye youth." (Reg. of Privy Seal, vol. 37, fol. 27. vol. 39, fol. 34.) He also obtained a licence for twenty years, to print "all and haill ane buke callit yᵉ Inglis bybill imprented of before at Geneva." (Reg. of Privy Seal, April 14. 1568.)

The first edition of the English Bible printed in Scotland came from the press of Bassandyne and Arbuthnet, in folio. In the month of March 1575, articles of agreement were given in to the General Assembly and approved by them, bearing: "Imprimis, Anent the godly proposition made to the Bishops, Superintendents, Visitors and commissioners in this general assembly, by Alexander Arbuthnot, merchant burges of Edinburgh and Thomas Bassanden printer and burges of the said burgh for printing and setting forth of the Bible in the Englishe tounge, conform to the proof given and subscribed with their hands, its agreed betwixt this present assembly and the said Alexander and Thomas that every Bible which they shall receive advancement for shall be sold in Albis for 4 pound 13 shill: 4 pennies, keeping the volume and character of the saids proofs delivered to the Clerk of the Assembly."—"Item the

kirk hath promised to deliver the authorctick copy which they shall follow unto them betwixt and the last of Aprile." Certain persons were appointed to oversee the copy, but they merely corrected such errors of the press as had crept into former editions, and adhered to the translation which had been made and first printed at Geneva. "Mr George Young, servant to my Lord Abbot of Dunfermline," corrected the proof-sheets. Robert Pont composed the Kalendar. (Wodrow's Life of Smeton, pp. 5—8.) The New Testament was printed first, and bears on the title-page: "At Edinbvrgh Printed by Thomas Bassandyne, M. D. LXXVI. Cvm Privilegio." Bassandyne died before the completion of the work; and the title prefixed to the Old Testament is "The Bible and Holy Scriptures conteined in the Olde and Newe Testament.—Printed in Edinbrvgh Be Alexander Arbuthnet, Printer to the Kingis Maiestie, dwelling at ye kirk of feild. 1579. Cvm Gratia et Privilegio Regiae Maiestatis."

The Dedication to the young king is dated "From Edinburgh in our general assemblie the tent day of Julie 1579.—now quhē as being cōuenit in our generall assemblie, this holy boke of God callit the Bible, newly imprentit, was brocht before vs be the prenter thereof Alexander Arbuthnot (a man quha hes taken great paines and trauailes worthie to be remembred in this behalfe) and desyrit to be dedicat to zour Hienes with a conuenient preface in our common Scottis language, we cold not omit nor neglect the occasion offrit to do the same.—O quhat difference may be sene betwene thir daies of light, quhen almaist in euerie priuat house the buike of Gods lawe is red and vnderstand in oure vulgaire language, and that age of darkenes quhen skarslie in ane haill citie (without the Clostres of the monkes and freyres) culde the buke of God anes be founde, and that in ane strange toungue of latine not gud but mixed with barbaritie, used and red be fewe, and almaist vnderstand or exponit be nane. And quhen the false namit clergie of this Realme, abusing the gentle nature of zour Hienes maist noble Gudshir of worthie memorie made it an cap-

pital crime to be punishit with the fyre to haue or rede the new testament in the vulgare language, sea and to make them to al men mare odius, as gif it had bene the detestable name of a pernicious secte, they were named new testamentaries."

In the year 1579 it was ordained, by act of parliament, that every gentleman householder worth three hundred merks of yearly rent, and every yeoman and burgess worth five hundred pounds, should "have a bible and psalm buke in vulgar language in thair hous for the better instruction of thame selfis and yair familijs in the knawledge of God," under the pain of ten pounds. (Act. Parl. Scot. iii. 139.) Jun. 16. 1580, his Majesty appointed "Johne Williamson burges of Edr—his general sercheour throuchout ye hail boundis of this his hienes realme to that effect," giving him power to visit the houses of such as are described in the act of parliament "and to requyre the sicht of thair bybill and psalme buik gif thai sony haue to be markit with thair awin name of the said John or his deputtis hand wryte for eschewing of fraudfull and deceavabill dealing in that behalf," and if they have none to exact the penalty. (Record of Privy Seal, vol. 46. fol. 129.)

The designation of "merchant burges of Edinburgh" given to Alexander Arbuthnot, in the Articles for printing the Bible, shews that he was a different person from the principal of King's College, Aberdeen. If any other proof of this were necessary, it might be added that Alexander Arbuthnot printed the Acts of the Parliament held in 1584, whereas the principal died in the preceding year. (Comp. Inquis. Retorn. Edinburgh, num. 39.)

Note Z. p. 227.

Early masters of St Mary's College.—The instrument of Presentation and Investiture, Feb. 8. 1538, appoints, "Magistrum *Robertum Bennerman*, pro theologo et primario dicti collegii de assumptione beatæ Mariæ Et pro sub-principali Magistra David Guynd pro Canonista Magistro Thomam Kyneragy pro civilista Magistro Johem Gledstanis Item pro regentibus artium et studentibus in theologia Magistros *Andream Kyminmond*,

Johannem Forbesium Wilhelmum Young et *Walterum Pethy*." Those whose names are printed in Italics had previously been teachers in the Pædagogium. It is not, however, easy to reconcile this deed with Letters of Procuratory by the founded persons in St Mary's College, (Feb. 10. 1538,) "viz. Mag^r David Guthry, sacrarum literarum bachalarius principalis Mag^r Robertus Bonneraman subprincipalis Mag^r Will^s Manderstoun rector de Gogar in Medicinis doctor," &c. But the correctness of the last mentioned document may be questioned. It appears from the records, that Guthrie was third prior of the abbey, and as such, must have been connected with St Leonard's College. And Manderston had for many years been connected with the College of St Salvator, on which he conferred several marks of his liberality, including a testamentary bequest which was carried into effect on the 28th of April, 1551.

Archibald Hay, during his residence in the College of Montaigue at Paris, published a panegyrical oration on archbishop Beaton's advancement to the purple. It is entitled, "Ad Illustriss. Tit. S. Stephani in Monte Coelio Cardinalem D. Davidem Betonum—gratulatorius panegyricus Archibaldi Hayi. Parisius 1540." It is in 4to. and ends on fol. LXVI. On the title-page is a motto in Greek and in Hebrew. The dedication to the Cardinal is subscribed "addictissimus *Consobrinus* vester Archibald Hayus." In the course of this work the author censures, with much freedom, the ignorance, negligence, and hypocrisy of the clergy, but makes no allusion to the reformed opinions either in the way of approbation or condemnation. The most curious and valuable part of it is that in which he lays down a plan of teaching for the new college which the Cardinal was employed in organizing. It will be of far more consequence, he says, to procure teachers capable of instructing the youth in the three learned languages, than to endow a rich but illiterate college. Not that good logicians are always not fit for conducting the affairs of the commonwealth; but because no one can understand the ancient writers without a moderate acquaintance with languages. If it should be thought proper to add teachers of Chaldee and Arabic, he would highly

approve of the arrangement. "Quod si visum fuerit linguæ caldaicæ & arabicæ interpretes addere, vehementer probabo. quandoquidem cum Hebraica magnâ habent affinitatem, & plurima sunt illis duabus linguis scripta, quæ non parum sint habitura momenti ad rerum pulcherrimarum intelligentiam." (fol. lix.) Though he does not propose to banish the Peripatetic philosophy from the schools, yet he would wish to see the study of *the divine Plato* take the place of scholastic *argutiæ*. (fol. lx. a.) He laments the neglect of Roman Law, and extols the science of Mathematics. (fol. lx. b. lxii. a.)

Robert Bannerman resigned the provostship, July 12. 1546, on account of his advanced age, and that the college might be provided "de alio quovis famoso, juniori et magis ydoneo primario seu principali." On the same day collation was given to Archibald Hay, "clerico Sti Andreæ dioces." Oct. 1. 1547, the office was conferred "perdocto et spectabili viro Mag^ro Johanni Douglass clerico dunkelden dioc." in consequence of the death "quond. Mag^ri Archibaldi Hay ultimi primarii."

Dr Howie mentions the kind reception which archbishop Hamilton gave to Smith and Marshall. (Oratio de Fundatoribus Acad. et Coll. Andreapol.) "Richardus Martialis, Alb. Theologus," was incorporated at St Andrews in 1549. In 1550, Mr John Douglas, being made rector for the first time, had for one of his deputes "Richardum Martialem verbi dei præconem egregium." In 1556, the same person is styled "Collegii Mariani Licentiatus."—"Doctor Richardus Smythæus, Anglus," was incorporated in 1550. In 1552, he designs himself "professor sacræ Theologiæ." Richard Martial, D.D. was of Christ Church College, of which he was made Dean in 1553.) Wood's Athenæ Oxon. by Bliss. vol. ii. col. 136, 138.) Smith was also of Oxford, and is the author of a great many controversial works against the protestants. (Wood, ut supra, vol i. pp. 333—337.) Dr Laurence Humphrey represents him as flying into Scotland to avoid a dispute with his successor Peter Martyr: "Animosus iste Achilles, die ad disputandum constituto,—ad Divum Andream in Scotiam profugeret,

ratus eum qui in hoc articulo bene lateret, bene viuere." (Joannis Ivelli Vita et Mors, p. 44.) "Those of his persuasion accounted him the best schoolman of his time, and they have said that he bafled Pet. Martyr several times. Protestant writers say that he was a sophister—and that he was a gogle-eyed fellow, and very inconstant in his opinion." (Wood, ut supra.) Further particulars concerning him will be found in Burnet's Hist. Reform. vol. ii. p. 162. App. No. 54. Strype's Cranmer, p. 172.

Note AA. p. 261.

Designs and conduct of Lennox.—Having described his companion Monberneau, "a subtill spreit, a mirrie fellow, able in bodie, and maist meit in all respects for bewitching of the youthe of a prince," James Melville adds, "Mr Nicol Dalgles tauld me y^t^ this Monbirneaus mother was a verie godlie Lady and schew grait courtessie to them in france at Burge in Berie, and warnit them of M. Obignies sending in Scotland, Whervpon he maid aduertisment to the Minist. of Edin^r^." (Diary, p. 59.) Sir Robert Bowes, in a letter to Lord Burleigh, (Edinburgh, Oct. 6. 1580.) says: "Sondry of the ministers chosen by the Synodall assembly holden heare on Tuesday last, were sent to the kynge to make peticõn for reformation in sondry causes, who for the first accusynge monburneaw of papistrey and other manifest and odiouse crymes, prayed that he might be removed from the k. chamber and presence, or els to be reformed. Wherein the k. alledged he was a strãnger, and that they had no lawe to compell hym And after longe arguments and shewe of discontentme^t^ he sayd that order should be taken therein. It is likely that after the end of this convention and sight of the satlynge of Lenoux state in this Realme, and w^t^ her matie Monburneaw shall dep^t^ into ffraunce to the effects remembred. And surely in case he shall abyde here, and in his accustomed lyfe and dealynges he will fynde some sharpe measure offered at length." (Cotton MSS. Cal. C. vi. 71.)

The project of associating Queen Mary in the government with the King, was forwarded by Lennox. Sir George Douglas acknowledged that he was sent to France to signify the King's consent to it. (Life of John Durie, p. 18. Wodrow MSS. vol. i. Bibl. Col. Glasg.) The following extract of a letter from Scotland (by a friend and secret agent of the Hamiltons, if I may judge from presumptive evidence) contains some curious information on this subject. "The reason therof is a dealying betwixt the king & the Queen that there may bee an association in all negotiations wch have been in handlyng of a long tyme. The Kyng in the beginning skayred herew^th^ and could not like well of it: notwithstanding he continewed in rendrying good answeare vnto the Queen wherein she insisted and abowt the first of Apryll and the first of Maye hir writynges come to the kyng resolutely to haue the kynges answeare if he would agree to the association or not. for in reason thereof shee would not be longer delayed. The kinges answeare is that he liketh well of the association and will hon^or^ hir in that and in all other: and hathe desyred her to forme the association and send it back wherein yf there be only conteined the dealynge wth forayne princes and nothing to preiudice him in his government it shall be graunted vnto. This answeare appearethe rather given uppon feare than for love. albeit divers spie owt this dealynge, yet there is none privie vnto it except the duke and Arraine. The duke is very bent and meaneth truly to further the same. Arraine agreeth with the Duke in it but it appearethe that he dealeth indirectly to staye the same. ffor there is no appearance that arraine can lyke well of it: and yet it is supposed the association shall take effect. for the Queens wrytings beare so that the kyng looketh for worsse in case he yeald not unto the association." (Cotton MSS. Cal. B. iv. 35.) This letter has no date, but it mentions that "there is *lately* come owt of ffrance some horse and harnesse to the kyng;" and this present arrived at Leith on the 9th of May 1582. (Ib. Cal. C. vii. 8.) The sanguine hopes with which the project inspired the papists

appear from a letter by P. A. G. H. at Edinburgh, to James Tirry a Jesuit at Paris, 12. Junij 1582. (Calig. c. vii. 14.)

There are many proofs that Lennox did not bear his honours with meekness, and that his morals were very offensive to the nation; although the shameless profligacy of Arran attracted greater notice and indignation. Patrick Galloway, minister of Perth, gives the following account of the Duke's behaviour in the church, when the preacher blamed the court for supporting Montgomery bishop of Glasgow. "When I did speak against the same, he did plainly minace me, and called me pultron, villain, mischant, with many other injurious words, and threatened to run me through with a rappair, till his Majesty himself was compelled to lay his hand upon his mouth and stay the Dukes fury and malicious language heard of all that stood in his Highness seat, and uttered publicly before the people. After the sermon was ended, at the Dukes passing out of the kirk door, in plain language, laying his hand upon his sword, boasted he would have my life, and used diverse contumelious and reproachfull words of malice and despite." (Apology of Mr Patrick Galloway for his flight, MSS. Bibl. Fac. Jurid. Edin. M. 6. 9.) A paper entitled "Notes proving that the Duke of Lennox and Arran, sought of old the wrack of Religion, the king, and commonwealth," contains the following particulars, among a multiplicity of others. "His (D'Aubigney's) convoy to the ship by the Duke of Guise, confederat of the Council of Trent, his own letter to Glasgow and Glasgows letters to the Pope and Spain, the warnings from foraigne Churches and Christian Princes, Mr Randolph from England, William Melvil from the Prince of Orange, the King of Navarre by Weems and Bothwell, with experience, proveth these things. Alexander Seton in his letter confesseth that in his course so much was gained that his Ma. mind was alienated from the ministers."—"The companie brought with him were paipsts by profession, and indeed atheists, obstinate enemies to the kings Crown and amitie, and were entertained with him almost to his departure: Mont-

birneau, Keir, Schaw, Charles Geddes, Kilsyth," &c.—" The Duke in his own person fretted and was enraged that he could not be avenged on the ministers who would not beare with his Hypocrisie and adulterouse life, wherewith the land was polluted. He intended to put hand on John Durie at Dalkeith. In a French passion he rent his beard, and thinking to strike the borde strake himself in the theigh, crying, The Devil for Jo. Durie, which Munbrineo learned for the first Lessoun in the Scottish language."—" The D. said to the K. he sould hang the L. Yester over his awin balk for refusing his chaine which he wald haif gevin to Senr paul."—" He plucked imperiouslie Lindsay by the cloke from his Ma. in Dalkeith."—" After their familiar access to court, his Ma. chest ears were frequentlie abused with unknown Italian and french formes of oaths. The maistresse of all bawdrie and villanie, then lady Marche, infected the air in his H. audience.—By justice courts the poor of the countrie, without difference of the guiltie from the innocent, were sold and ransomed at hundreth pounds the score. That monster of nature called Countess of Arran controlled (the Judges) at her pleasure,—and caused sindrie to be hanged that wanted their compositions, saying, what had they been doing all their dayes that had not so much as five punds to buy them from the gallows." (MSS. Bibl. Jurid. Edin. M. 6. 8.)

Note BB. p. 281.

Smeton and Arbuthnot called to St Andrews.—James Melville mentions the design of obtaining Smeton to be minister at St Andrews, and the anxiety of his uncle to have it accomplished. (Diary. p. 93.) This is referred to in the following minute of the General Assembly, April 1583. " Sess. 8. Captain Montgomery by the King's Majesty to the whole Assembly, required them in his Highnes name, seeing his Majesty is patrone and erector of the Colledge of Glasgow wherethrow he hath a care of the entertainment and standing of the same, that the Assembly medle not with the removing

any of the members therof, and especially of the principall." (Cald.)

The steps taken by the kirk session of St Andrews to obtain Arbuthnot are recorded in the following minutes, which contain the only letter of that excellent man that I have met with.

Die septimo mensis Augusti āno octuagesimo tertio

The q^lk day M Dauid russell at request of ye sessioun offers him self willing & reddy to ryd to aburdein on his awin expenss for M alex arbuthneth minister and to bring ane direct ans^r fra ye said M Alex in wreit quhidder he will cum or no^t w^t yis conditioun y^t ye said M Dauid be no^t burdenit to ryde ye next tyme for ye said M Alex in cais he condescend to cum, The session thinks gude yis offer be intimit to provest bailzes & counsall.

Die mercurii vigesimo octavo Augusti āno lxxxiii.

The q^lk day comperit M Dauid Russell bailze quha being send from the counsall of town & sessioun to aburdein to M Alex Arbuthneth m^r principall of ye college of Aburdein, to desyr him to address him self to yis citie to be ordinar pasto^r of St And^s conforme to ye generall ordinance of ye generall assemble, and ye said M Alex^s pronis maid to ye town to y^t effect and for ye said M Alex^s ans^r y^r to The said M Dauid for diligence producit ye said M Alex^rs ans^r in wreit direct to ye sessioun q^rof ye tenor followis :

The comfort of ye holie Spreit for salutations. Belouit in ye Lord. efter my maist hartly commendations. pleis I resauit zo^r letter requesting me to addres my self to ye charge in St And^s according to ye ordinance of ye last assemblie q^lk trewlie I wald maist gladlie obey if I wer vtherwayis fre, and of honestie and conscience my^t weill leif yis towne, lykeas ye beraris of y^r l^r my lord of mrche his seruitor, and M Dauid Russell hes omittit na diligence to do y^r charge, nor na persuasions to move me to ye same effect; bot as I haif writtin baith to my lord, and ye town of treuth y^r be presentlie sic stoppis & im-

pediments of my transporting, and just causis to retein me heir, and chieflie no sufficient provision maid for yis vniversite y^t nather presentlie can I addres me to remove nor zit can I see how ye same may be hastellie done w^tout great inconvenientis to yis cuintrie in generall and to me in particular. q^lk I dowt no^t ye assemblie hauing deebplie considderit al things will ressonablie regards as zo^r W. also will pacientlie receve for my present excuis. referring forder to my writing send to my lord erle of marche, & ye town of St And^s for I constantlie affirm y^t if I may be free y^r is na cumpanie among quhome I wald mair glaidlie trauell nor amang zou. as he knawis quho jugis ye secretis of hartis to quheis almytie protectioun I maist hartlie commit zou. from our college ye xii of august yor bruther to be commandit in ye Lord

M Arbuthnet.

And forder ye said M Dauid declarit y^t at ye said M Alex^rs desyre, he hes purchest o^r soveraine lords charge direct to ye said M Alex to charge him to adres himself heir w^t all diligence q^lk charge is direct to him als w^t Walter Todrig messinger, and yis day aucht dayis w^t goddis grace he sal schaw ye said charge & execution y^rof, w^t ye said M Alex^rs mynd & ans^r y^rin. (Record of the Kirk Session of St Andrews.)

The General Assembly which met at Glasgow in April 1581, had appointed Arbuthnot to be minister of New Aberdeen. "Maister Alex^r Arbuthnot transportit to ye ministrie of Abd^n and ordanit to demitt ye principalitie of the Colledge in favours of Mr Nicoll Dalgleisch." (Buik of Univ. Kirk, f. 102, b.)

Note CC. pp. 287, 292.

Melville's Trial.—The following is the testimonial given him by the University.

Seeing that the winderful providence of God has from all eternity ordeaned, and the Scriptures plainly forwarned; that of necessity sclanders should arise, to the effect that his oun Elect should be tryed, and our master Christ, of this point in speciall, hath made his Faithfull servants forseen, that they should be drauen Before the Tribunall seats of princes,

and calumniously delated; as also the Experience of all Ages, from time to time till our dayes, has sealed this as an undoubted Truth: we tho^{t} it nothing strange to hear our brother Mr Androu Melvil provest of the New Colledge, calumniously traduced to your Majesty and H. Council, as a seditious subject, tending be his doctrine, to call your croun in question, and to steal the hearts of your M. subjects from your obedience, and to that effect charged this day, as we are credibly informed; yet, notwithstanding, being bound and obliged of y^{t} Christian duety, whereby we ought to glorifie God, In giveing faithfull Testimony to his Truth; and of that debtfull obedience, wherby every one of us is bound to your H. in particular, We Rector, Deans of Faculties, professors, Regents, and masters, within the university of Sainct Andrewes, conveened together in the fear of God, after calling upon his name, have thought it meet, to send furth this our testimony, be our commissioners Appointed for that effect Mr Robert Bruce, Mr Robert Wilkie *, to your M. and H. council, wherby we will most Humbly crave, that your M & H. council be fully perswaded and out of doubt, That whatsomever is laid to our Brothers charge, so long as he occupyed the chair of verity, and place in schools within this city, as it is False and Fained of it self, so it is only Forged of the Devil and his instruments, to bring the Faithful servants of God in Contempt and Hatred of their supreme Magistrat, q^{ch} God forbid. For as we wer continual and diligent Auditors of his Doctrine; so we bear him faithful record in God, and in conscience, that we heard nothing out of his mouth, neither in doctrine nor application, which tended not directly to the Glory of God, to the establishment of your M. croun, and to every one of our particular comforts and edification, And whensoever the occasion offered it self in special, to speak of your M. In God and in conscience as we have said, we heard him never but in Great Zeal, and Earnest Prayer

* In the accompts of the university for the year 1583, is the following article of discharge: "It. vi. lib. dat. M. Rob. Wilkie Commissario Univtis in causa M. Andreæ Melvin."

recommend your M. estate, into his protection; exorting always all manner of subjects, to acknowledge their obedience even to ye meanest magistrats, your H. subjects; as bearing a portion of that Image, for which they are called Gods on earth. Therfor we most Humbly, in all Reverence, wold crave of your M. & H. Counsel, not to be slandered or offended, in this Incident; for as its one of the proper effects o the word of God, so its the ordinary way, whereby God brings about his oun work to the Glory of his oun name, to the comfort of the Godly, and to the closing of the blasphemous mouths of the supposts of Sathan, who are not ashamed in so manifest a light, so horribly to lye upon the Servant of God. and for verification hereof we have subscribed thire presents, with our Hands, and have ordaned our seal to be affixed thereto. At Saint Andrews the 8 day of February. 1584.

Mr James Wilkie Rector
Mr James Martine Dean of Faculty
Mr John Robertson Professor of Theology
Mr James Melvil Professor of Theology
Mr William Wallat Professor of the Mathematicks

Mr Robert Bruce
Mr Thomas Buchanan
Mr Robert Inscho
Mr David Monypennie
Mr Robert Wilkie
Mr William Marche
Mr William Cranston
Mr James Robertson
Mr John Caldcleuch
Mr John Malcomb
Mr And Duncan
Mr David Martine
Mr John Rutherfoord
Mr Archibald Moncreif
Mr Walter Abercrummie
Mr David Blyth
Mr Mark Ker
Mr Gawin Borthwick
Mr John Lickprevik
Mr Andrew Inglis
Mr David Inglis
Mr William Murrey
Mr James Aiton
Mr Hector Monro
Mr James Bennet

(Cald. III. pp. 304—306. Wodrow's Life of Andrew Melville, MSS. vol. 14. Bibl. Coll. Glasg.)

Apud Halieruidhous xviii^{o} fe^{rii}
Anno etc. lxxx^{iijo}.
Sederunt.

Colinus ergadie comes
Jacobus comes de arrane
dauid comes de craufurd
Joannes comes de Montrois
Joannes comes de mortoun
Jacobus comes de glencairne
Jacobus dns de down
Thirlstane
Comendatarius de Culros
Caprintoun
Clicus regri
Murdocairny
Prior de blantyir
Segy .
M^{r} of requeistis.

Mr andro Meluile chargeit to ward

Forsamekle as maister andro meluile provest of ye new colledge of Sanctandrois Being callit befoir the kingis maiestie and lordis of his secreit counsale, And he comperand personalie wes inquirit vpoun certane thingis laid to his charge spokin be him in his sermon maid in ye kirk of Sanctandrois vpoun the day of Januar last bypast, offensiue and sklanderous to ye kingis maiestie, Eftir sindrie alledgeances maid be ye said M^{r} andro for declyning of ye judgement and protestationis tending to ye same effect. At last being inquirit gif a minister speiking in pulpett that qlk salbe alledgit to be treasoun aucht to be tryit yairfoir befoir ye king in ye first instance or not, Ansuerit yat altho^{t} ye speiche wer alledgit to be treasoun zit ye tryell in ye first instance aught not to be befoir ye king bot befoir ye kirk, Q^{t}upon his hienes and his secreit counsale, ffindis yat his hienes and not ye kirk is Judge in ye first instance in causis of tressoun q^{t}sumeuir, And in respect of ye said maister

androis proceidingis and behaveor sa oft declyning his maiesteis judgment And Sua refuising to acknauledge his hienes royall estait and aūctie, As alsua to obiect aganis ye witnessis sūmond for the tryell of ye said mater, Clamyng to ye priuiledge of certane actis of parliament and secreit counsale concerning ye iurisdictioun of ye kirk Quhilkis being producit red and considerit wer fund to contene na sic priuiledge nor libertie grantit to ye kirks to cognosce in materis of tressoun in the first instance as wes alle^t^ be him Ansuering alsua maist proudlie irreuerentlie and contemptuouslie that ye lawis of God w^t^ ye lawis and practik obseruit within yis cuntrie were peruertit and not obseruit in this cais, And last yat he had spokin all yat he had to say adherand to his former protestationis His maiestie w^t^ auise of ye saidis lordis of his secreit counsale In yir respectis declaris ye said maister andro to be worthie to be cōmittit to ward in his hienes castell of blaknes and forder pvneist in his persoun and gudis at his hienes will, Thairfoir ordanis Lrēs to be direct to ye mas^r^ of counsale or vther officear of armes To pas and in his hienes Name and aūctie Cōmand and charge ye said maister andro meluille, To pas and entir his persoun in ward w^t^in ye said castell of blaknes, Thairin to remane vpoun his awin expensis during his hienes will And ay and quhill he be fred be his maiestie within ten houris nixteftir he be chargit y^r^to vnder the pane of rebellioun and putting of him to ye horne, and gif he failze y^r^in ye saidis ten houris being bypast to denūce him his maiesteis rebell and put him to ye horne, And to escheit and inbring etc. And that ane Ire be direct for his ressait in ward, w^t^in ye said castell. (Record of Privy Conncil.)

Note DD. p. 349.

Presentation of the principalitie of ye new College of St And. To Mr Johne Robertsoun.

Vre soverane lord ordanis ane lrē to be maid vnder the previe seall bering yt forsamekle as his mat^tie^ being surelie informite of the depairting out of the realme of Mr Andro Mel-

ven principall of ye new Colleige callit the pedagoge in Sanctandrois and of ane number of maisteris & regentis yairof quha hes passit out of this realme and in ane maner laift ye said Collaige voad & dissolat of all lairning doctrene and instructioun to ye grite pindice of ye schoillis and decay of gud lrēs wᵗin this realme and his maᵗⁱᶜ beinge of gud mynd & dispositione to fortefie mentene & aduance ye curs of lairning incress of gud letters and vertew wᵗin the realme and speciallie to sie ye said Collaige and pedagoge restorit redintegrat and restablisit in godlie *(sic)* and exerceiss yairof Thairfoir and for ye effect foirsaid his maᵗⁱᶜ hes wᵗ ye aduyse of ye lord and consallʳ *(sic)* Patrik bischope of Sanctandrouz quhois pdicessors foundit & erectit ye said Collaige to place qualefeit & lairnit men to be masteris yairin. And specialie Mr Johne robertsoune quho is remanent and actuall maister of auld to be principall Mr yairof to nominat present and admit Bursaris and pur scoillars yairin to tak ordor for ye rentis fruttis dewteis profeittis emolumentis of the said Collaige of ye crope & zeir of God Jaiᵛᶜ fourscoir four zeiris And sic lyk zeirlie in tyme cuminge And to appoint sik personis as yai pliss for ye ingadering and inbringinge of the saidis rentis and fruitis for sustentatᵒne of the saids Mʳˢ regents and bursars for instructing of ze youtheheid in gude literature and science and to do all & sundrie thingis yᵗ belangs to the ryᵗ and dew administracione of the said Collaige firm & stabill halding qᵗsumever the said bischope shall do yairin anent ye premissis. Ordaninge the lordis of oʳ secreit counseill & session to direct lrēs of horning vpone ane suptⁿ chairge of ten dayis alanerlie at ye instance of The said bischope Mr Johne robertsoune and sik vders as saill be appointit be yam for ye inbringing of ye saidis rentis of ye crope & zeir of God foirsaid and siclyk zeirlie in tyme cūming to the effect abouwritten discharging be yir pnts all vders economus intrometters factors or vdir personis qᵗsaeuer tittill gift or licence of factorie preceding ye dait of yir pnts to intromet or vplift ony of ye fruits rentis profeits & emolumētis of ye said Collaige in maner abonwriten yᵗ ye tenantis taxmen fewars farmoners and parochinars of the kirkis and landis annexit to

the said Collaige reddelie ans^{r} obay and mak thankfull paymēt of ye said rentis of ye said crop & zeir of God to yam yair factors and servitors alanerlie and y^{t} ye said lrē be extendit &c. Subscriuit at holyrudhous ye xxvi day of februar Anno dni 1584 yeiris. (Register of Presentations to Benefices. Fol. II. f. 124.)

Note EE. pp. 361, 363.

Act warding Mr Andrew Melvil.

Royal Charges to Melville.—At Halyrudhouse the 26 day of May the year of God 1586 years, the Kings Maj. and Lords of Secret Council having consideration of the disordered estate of the Universitie of St Andrews, occasioned for the most part be the Dissention and Diversitie betwixt Patrick Bishop of St Andrews, and Mrs Andrew and James Melvills Masters of the New Colledge within the same, their favourers and adherents, to the great slander of the Kirk, Division of the said Universitie, and decaying of Learning, and all virtuous exercise within the same, speciallie of theologie, whereof the said New Colledge was appointed to have been a seminarie within this Realme, albeit be occasion of the said Diversitie and variance, the ordinar profession thereof has been discontinued thir two years bygane to the great encouragment of the adversars of the true and Christian Religion, and allurement of a great number of Jesuits within the realme for the eversion thereof, and the erection again of Antichristian papistrie, condemned be God, and be his Hieness Lawes, for repressing of whose practices, and continuing of the Exercise of Theologie within the said Universitie in the mean time, his H. with advice foresaid, ordeans the said Mr Andrew to pass immediatelie to Angus, Merns, Perth, and other parts of the North where he may understand anie of the saids Jesuites to be, to conferr with them, and travell so far as in him lyes to reduce them to the true and Christian Religion presently professed and acknowledged be his Maj. and this whole realme; and in caise he shall find them obstinate, to delate them to his Maj. and his Secret Council to be tane order with according to his H. Lawes and Acts of Parliament.

enduring the which time and travell, his Hieness has dispensed, and be the tenour hereof dispenses with his ordinarie profession, and exercise within the said New Colledge, and appoints the same to vaike untill his returning, Commanding in the mean time the said Mr James. to attend upon his own place for the instruction of the youth committed to his care and teaching, as he will answer to God and his H. and to the Intent, that the said exercise of Theologie may be continued within that Universitie, his Hieness with advice forsaid ordeans and commands the said Bishop to teach weeklie two Lessons of Theologie within S. Salvators Colledge one upon Tuesday, and another upon Thursday everie week, beginning upon the first tuisday of Junie next, and so continuing ay and while his Maj. take further order thereanent and that but prejudice of his ordinar preaching unto a particular flock whereunto he is astricted be the late Conference, and that Letters be directed hereupon if need be, charging everie one of the said persons to do accordingly as they will answer to his Maj. upon their obedience at their uttermost charge and perril.

Extractum ex Libris Actorum Secreti Concilii per me Joannem Andro Clericum Deputatum ejusdem sub meis signo & subscriptione manualibus.

Joannes Andro.

(Bibl. Jurid. Edin. Rob. III. 6. 17. p. 219.)

The following charge taken from Calderwood, iv. 8. is corrected by another copy which Wodrow has inserted in his Life of Andrew Melville. MSS. vol. 14. Bibl. Col. Glasg.

Principall and Masters of the new Colledge, we greet you well. For as much as we are informed certainly, That upon the Sundays, you assemble to your selves, a number both of burgh and land, and preaches to them in the English Tongue, and inveigh against the late Agreement, qch by the advice of the G. Assembly, was appointed for the Quietnes of the Kirk and Realm; qrby great inconveniencys may ensue: specially the Division of the members of the university, Gentlmen and Burgesses, who by yt means are abstracted from their parish

kirk and pastors there; We willing that no such occasion should ensue, and for the wellfare and quietnes of the Toun and kirk there have By thir presents thot Good, That ye contean yourselves within the Bounds of your own vocation & calling, and in such languages as ye profess for the Instruction of the youth and that in no wise ye attempt Doctrine in English to ye people of the parish. we gave our commandment to Mr Andreu Melvil returning to the Colledge, that he should not in any sort preach to the people; wherein if either ye or he contineu we will take further order in time coming, that our appointment be not so lightly regarded. Thus we committ you to God, From Hallyroodhous the 4. of Feb. 1586.

JAMES REX."

Note FF. p. 384.

Of Melville's poem on the Coronation of Queen Anne of Denmark.—The title of this poem is "ΣΤΕΦΑΝΙΣΚΙΟΝ. Ad Scotiae Regem, habitvm in Coronatione Reginae. 17. Maij 1590. Per Andream Meluinum. Pro. 16. 13. Iustitia stabilit thronum Regis. Edinbvrgi Excvdebat Robertvs Walde graue An. Dom. 1590. Cum priuilegio Regali." 4to. five leaves. The poem is republished in *Delitiæ Poetarum Scotorum*, tom. ii. pp. 71—76. On the back of the title-page of the original edition are the following lines, in which the author apologizes for the haste with which the poem was composed and published, and ingeniously alludes to the late voyage of the royal bridegroom.

Ad Regem.

Quod feci dixique tuo, Rex inclyte, iussu,
Ecce iubes volitet docta per ora virum.
Jussisti quod here, ego hodie: eras ibit in orbem:
Et properatum adeo præcipitabis opus?
Præcipita, per me ire licet quo authore volasti
Trans mare. Sors eadem fors erit: vrget amor.

James must have been pleased with the conceit expressed in the two concluding lines, and with the following address in

the poem itself, which pays a flattering compliment to his gallantry in braving the winter sea, and to (what he was no less proud of) his poetical achievements:

Ferguso generate, poli certissima proles,
Quot reges tulit olim orbis, quot regna Britannus,
Tot regnis augende hæres, tot regibus orte,
Tot reges geniture olim fœlicibus astris,
Lætus in optatæ sanctis amplexibus Annæ:
Annæ, cuius amor te tot vada cerula mensum,
Tot scopulos, tot præruptas saxa ardua rupes,
Tantam Hyemem, tot fœta feris et inhospita tesqua
Raptauit, gelidisque morantem distulit oris,
Quam procul a patria, ac populo regnisque relictis
Tam proprior Phœbo, Musis lucem annue nostris,
Dum canimus decus omne tuum, decus omne tuorum,
Rex Iacobe, decus Musarum et Apollinis ingens.

The theme of the *Stephaniskion* is the right government of a kingdom. After a description of the cares which environ a crown, and the small number of those who have swayed the sceptre with credit to themselves and benefit to their people, whose names, according to the saying of an Asiatic monarch,

Unà omnes inscribi uno posse annulo, et unà
Includi gemma, fulvum quæ dividit aurum;

The poet inquires into the causes which incite men to covet this dangerous eminence,—the secret impulse of nature, the innate desire of distinction, consciousness of talents or of birth, thirst for personal glory or family aggrandizement, patriotism, and that more exalted and sacred flame which seeks, by the faithful administration of a terrestrial kingdom, to obtain a celestial and unfading crown.

Vis arcana naturæ, et conscia fati
Semina:
Levat alta laborem

Gloria, celsi animi pennis sublimibus apta.
Quid studium humani generis? quid viuida virtus
Ignauæ impatiens vmbræ atque ignobilis oti?
* * * * * * * *
Et prædulce decus patriæ: populique Patrumque,
Vel bello quærenda salus, per mille pericla,
Mille neces, et morte ipsa quod durius usquam est?
Quo patriæ non raptet amor cœlestis, & aulæ
Ætheriæ, æterna regem quæ luce coronat?

The prince described is of course a patriot king: but the author does not maintain, as archbishop Adamson had accused him, that popular election is the only legitimate mode of investing a prince with the sceptre:

Seu lectus magno è populo, seu natus avito
In solio, vel lege novâ, vel more vetusto,
Sortitus sceptrique decus regnique coronam.

He does not touch the harsh string of resistance to rulers who abuse their power, but he strongly reprobates, and condemns to the Stygian lake whence it ascended, the pestelential principle, that kings are born for themselves, and that their will is their law:

Stat regi, ut regni Domino, pro lege voluntas:
Talia dicta vomit diris e faucibus Orcus.
* * * * * * * * *
Est pecus, est pejor pecude, est fera bellua, soli
Qui sibi se natum credit: qui non nisi in ipso
Cogitat imperium imperio: qui denique secum
Non putat ipse datum se civibus, at sibi cives.

The marriage of James, with its attendant solemnities, was celebrated by other poets besides Melville. Among these were Hercules Rollock, (Delitiæ Poet. Scot. ii. 323.) and Adrian Damman. "De Avgustissimo Jacobi 6. Scotorum

Regis, & Annæ—conjugio: 13. Calend. Septemb. 1589 in Dania celebrato :—Epithalamivm Ad eamdem Annam, Serenissimam Scotorum Reginam. Hercule Rolloco Scoto auctore. Edinburgi Excudebat Henricvs Charteris. 1589." Ten leaves in 4to. "Schediasmata Hadr. Dammanis A Bisterveld Gandavensis — Edinburgi Excvdebat Robertvs Walde-graue An. Dom. 1590." 1 in fours. This last collection consists of a Greek and Latin poem on the marriage, and of Latin poems on the storm which drove the Queen to Norway, the King's voyage, the coronation, and the public entrance into Edinburgh. Prefixed to the work are encomiastic verses by Melville in Latin, and by Robert Pont in Latin and Greek. Damman gives a poetical description of the ceremony of the Coronation, in the course of which he praises the sermon preached by Galloway, and especially the prayer offered up by Bruce.

Conticuere iterum, versisque ad Sacra Ministris,
Brucius assurgit, vir nobilis, inque togati
Classe Ministerij nullo pietatis & æqui
Laudibus inferior, precibus Solemnia sanctis
Commendare Deo, Christumque in vota vocare
Incipit, & prudens animi, linguæque disertus.

He gives the following flattering account of the part which Melville acted in the solemnity:

Altisonis stat pausa tubis: strepitusque silescit
Gaudia testantis populi: quum denique surgit
Nobilis eloquio, doctrinaque inclytus omni,
Divinâ imprimis: qui multus Apollinis antra,
Antra rosis, violisque, et anethi picta corymbis,
Lymphæ ubi limpidulo trepidant pede, rite frequentat,
Meluinus, grandique ad Regem carmine fatur
Ausonio, monitisque docet prudentibus artem
Imperij.

It appears from Damman's account, that Melville pronounced his poem immediately after the crown was placed on the

Queen's head, and not before that ceremony was performed, as I have stated in the text on the authority of James Melville. —Damman was not a Dane, as is commonly supposed. He was born in the neighbourhood of Ghent, and had taught Humanity in that city. (Anton. Sanderus, De Gandavensibvs Erudit. Fama Claris, p. 13. Antw. 1624.) Sanderus says he went to Scotland at the invitation of Buchanan. "Tandem a Georgio Buchanano ad Nobilem iuventutem politissimis litteris imbuendam accersitus in Scotiam fuit." Others say that he came to Scotland in the retinue of queen Anne. He afterwards taught for some years as professor of Humanity in the College of Edinburgh, and acted as Resident of the States General at the court of Scotland. (Crawfurd's Hist of the Univ. of Edinburgh. Epist. Eccles. and Theolog. pp. 35—8. Amst. 1704.)

Note GG. p. 402.

Of patronage and popular election.—"Ordinarie vocation consisteth in Election, Examination, and Admission.—It appertaineth to the people, and to every severall Congregation to elect their Minister.—For altogether this is to be avoided, that any man be violently intruded or thrust in upon any congregation. But this libertie with all care must be reserved to every severall Church, to have their votes and suffrages in election of their ministers." (First Book of Discipline, Head iv.) "Election is the chosing out of a person, or persons, most able, unto the office that vakes, by the judgement of the Eldership, and consent of the Congregation, to which shall be the person, or persons appointed.—So that none be intrused upon any Congregation, either by the Prince, or any inferiour person, without lawfull election, and the consent of the people over whom the person is placed, as the practice of the Apostolical and Primitive Kirk, and good order craves. And because this order, which Gods word craves, cannot stand with patronages and presentation to benefices used in the Popes kirk, we desire all them that truely feare God, earnestly to consider, that for as much as the names of patronages and benefices together with the effect thereof have flowed from the Pope and

corruption of the Canon law onely, in so farr as thereby any person was intrused or placed over kirkes having *Curam animarum*. And for as much as that manner of proceeding hath no ground in the word of God, but is contrary to the same and to the said liberty of Election, they ought not now to have place in this light of Reformation." (Second Book of Discipline, Chap. 3. and 12.)

At the first General Assembly "the kirk appointit ye electioun of the minister, Elders and deacons to be in the publick Kirk, and the premonition to be vpon the sonday preceiding the day of the Electioun." (Buik of Univ. Kirk, p. 2.) In June 1562, it was concluded, "tuiching persones to be nominat to Kirks, that none be admitted without nomination of the people, and dew examination and admission of the Superintendent." (Keith, 513.) An act of Assembly, April 1582, for correcting disorders produced by ambition, covetousness, and indirect dealing in entering to the ministry, concludes thus, "this act no wayes to be prejudiciall to laick patrones and y^r^ presentatiouns, vnto ye tyme ye lawes be reformed according to the word of God." (Buik of Univ. Kirk, f. 123, b.) On the annexation of the temporalities of the bishopries to the crown, the patronages connected with them were disposed of to different noblemen and gentlemen. The General Assembly, in August 1588, petitioned his Majesty against this; "inhibiting in ye meantyme all commissioners and presbyteries y^t^ they in no wayes give collatioun or admissioun to any persons presentit be ye saids new patrons as is above speit (specified) unto ye nix. general assemblie of ye Kirk." (Ib. f. 153, a.) Among the articles of an overture approved by the Assembly, in May 1596, was the following: "Thridlie because be presentatiouns many forciblie are thrust in ye ministrie and vpoun congregatiouns y^t^ utteris y^r^after they were not callit be God, it wald be provydit y^t^ none seik presentatiouns to benefices without advyce of ye presbyterie within ye bounds q^r^of pbrie (sic) lyis, and if any doe in ye contrair they to be repellit as rei ambitus." (Ib. 178, a.)

Such was the law of the church. The practice appears to

have varied somewhat in different places. Sometimes the General Assembly or the presbytery of the bounds nominated or recommended a minister, either of their own accord, or at the desire of the session or congregation. In some instances the election was by the session, or by the session and principal persons of the parish, and in others by the votes of the congregation at large. Sometimes the congregation elected the individual themselves; at other times they nominated electors from among themselves; and at other times they referred the choice to the presbytery. But in whatever way this was conducted, the general consent of the people was considered as requisite before proceeding to admission, and the church courts exerted themselves in obtaining the presentation for the person who was acceptable to the parish. On the appointment of a second minister to the town and parish of Haddington, the presbytery claimed the right of nomination, but Mr James Carmichael having produced and read the act of Assembly 1562, they relinquished their claim. (Record of Presbytery of Haddington, August 15. 1601.)—The following is the account of the election of Robert Bruce to be minister of St Andrews:

"Die xxi° mensis Maii anno Lxxxix°.

The q^lk day being appointit to ye electionn of ane minister and fallow laborar w^t M Robert Wilkie minister in ye functioun of ye ministrie in yis congregation, fur^t of ye nyne personis efter specifyt viz. nominat be ye town vniversite & landward parochenaris to witt Mrs Robert Bruce, Jhone Cauldclouche Wm Marche. nominated be ye town, Mr Johne Malcom alex monipenny & M Jhon Auchinlek, nominat be ye universite; and Mrs Nichol Dalgles Jhone Dauidsoun & Robert Dury, nominat be ye gentill men & paroshenaris vpon land. Comperit ane ry^t hono^ll man James Lermouth of Darsy provest of St And^os M Wm Russel bailze Thomas Lentroun & Patrik Gutherie commissioners for ye town & Patrik Bonkill ye common clerk M James Wilkie recto^r of ye universite, M David monypenny deane of facultie, M Andrew Melvill Mr principall of ye new College, and M Wm Cranstoun mais-

ter in ye auld college commissioneris for ye said universite, and hon^ll men Sir George Douglas of Elenehill kny^t James Wod of Lambeletham, James Hay chalmerlane of ye priore of St An^dos Patrik Dudingstoun portioner of Kincapill, Andrew Wod of Stray^twethy & M Alex Jarden of Smyddy grein commissionaris for ye gentillmen and paroshinaris vpoun land. Quha all w^t ane voce efter ernest incalling on ye holy name of God, electit & chusit ye said Mr Robert Bruce as ane man maist meet habiil and quhelifyt minister and fallow laborar in ye ministrie w^t ye said Mr Robert Wilkie And ye saidis haill commissionaris hes aggreit ye ilk ane of yame to witt, ye towne, universite & paroshenaris vpon land send w^t all diligens yr supplication in ye maist feruent maner to ye said M Robert Bruce to cum & occupy ye said office in & upon him conforme to ye said fre election." (Record of Kirk Session of St Andrews.) On the demission of Mr Robert Wilkie, who was appointed principal of St Leonard's College, " The maist speciall of the haill parochin alsweill to land as bur^t being convenit, efter ernest incalling upon ye holy name of God, electit & chusit all w^t ane voce w^tout discrepans or variance Mr David Blak, quha wes specialie recommendit to yame be ye generall kyrk, pastor and minister to yis congregation." (Ib. Nov. 11. 1590.)

Mr Andrew Forester, minister of Corstorphin, having laid before the presbytery of Haddington a demission of the vicarage of Tranent by his father, and a presentation of it to himself by the king, confessed, after some interrogatories, " that bay^t ye dismission and presentation foirsaid wer taken be his foirknowledge and accepted be his consent." The presbytery found that they could not proceed to collation and admission, because he had not obtained license of transportation, and " becaus be his foirsaid dealling he is fallin vnder danger of ane act of the generall assembly decerning sic persones as takes giftes of ony benefices of cure w^tout foirknowledge and consent of the kirk to be Rei ambitus, of the qlk fault he is to be tryit befoir his judge ordinarie." (Record of Presbytery of Haddington, Oct. 5. 1597.) The parishioners of Aberlady requested the presbytery, " that ane lite my^t be maid of qualifeit men and sent to teache in their paroche kirk upon several

sabboth dayes per vices, To the end y^t^ ye Brethrene of the presbyterie w^t^ their consent my^t^ out of that number chuse ane fittest for the rowme." Mr Andrew Blackhall younger being put on the leet was suspected to be reus ambitus, and ordained to make his purgation. He satisfied the presbytery, after a strict examination, that he did not know of the presentation, "till it was past the seallis, and as yet had not acceptit of the same, nather yet was myndit to accept of the same w^t^out ye spēal advyse of the presbyterie." (Ib. from January 21, to March 17, 1602. *passim.)* The presbytery "finds the said Mr Andro not to be Reus ambitus;" but still they came to the following resolution.

"At Hadingtoun ye 24 Martij 1602.

The qlk day ye brethrene being to noīate and elect ane of the thrie yt was vpon ye Lite for aberladie to be placit as pastour thare before y^t^ ye said mater suld be put in voting tho^t^ meit y^t^ Mr Andro Blakhal suld subscryve ye submissioun following.

I Mr Andro blakhal younger am content to put and pntlie puts ye gift and pntat^o^un of ye vicarage of aberladie obtainit in my name in ye hands of ye presbyterie of hadingtoun to vse it as thay think gude.

Sic Subscribitur

M. A. Blakhall."

A curious instance of procedure in the case of an unpopular presentee occurred in the same presbytery long after the introduction of episcopacy. In 1621, Michael Gilbert having obtained from the king a presentation to the parish of Northberwick, the presbytery appointed him to preach in that church, and the people to send commissioners to testify what is "ther lyking or approbation" of him. Commissioners, accordingly, attended next meeting of the presbytery, and reported "in name of the whole people yat thei ware not content w^t^ Michael Gibbert, and yat universallie ye people had no lyking of him and thawcht him not meit for yat place." The presbytery having taken him on trials "commends and allows his gift and holie affectioun, juges him able to enter in the ministrie q^r^ it sall please God to call him wt consent of the congre-

gatioun, but in respect of the place of Northberwick qrvnto the generall assemblie haldin at Aberdein hes thawcht meit an man of singular gifts of authoritie and experience Also in respect of ye commissionars of the said parochin of Northberwick dissenting yrfra we thinke him not meit for yt place of Northbervick." It was ordained accordingly that a letter should be written to "My lord of St androis bearing the presbytries judgement anent the said Michael Gilberts not qualification for northberwick." On the 5th of September, the presbytery received the following answer from the archbishop.

"Loving brithren I haue receaved yor ltre tutching michael Gilbert qrby I perceaue yt he is not be zow fond meit to be receavit in yat kirk. but I must pray zow in yor answair to forbeir the consideration of ye kirk at leist the mention of it in your writt because as I formarlie wrote if he be fund meit to be ane minister I cannot shift but giue collatioun as I am requyrit he is presentit to that kirk yrfor directed to be tryit by zow. if he be not fund meit it exoners both zou & me To say so in generall yat Michael Gilbert being presented be his Ma. for such a kirk and directed by me to be tryed by zou ze find him not qualifeit And no more then this being I sall desyr zow speedilie to acquent me whom ze wold chuse with consent of the parochin and I sall doe the best I can to haue zou satisfeit for I shall be loith to admitt any whom ze by yor judgement finds not qualifeit to anie of yor kirks and certainlie wold we in planting haue yis regard to consider ye qualities of [illegible] yer prudence as weill as yr teiching whom Chrysostom [illegible] some place requyris as necessarie in a pastor or kirk wold be in an better estate & or calling not so exposed to contempt as it is. but yis I leaue and for the present commit zow to God.

rests yor assured brother

St Andrews."

The presbytery took the bishop's hint, and made an act declaring simply the presentee's "non sufficiencie," but after some delay, they received instructions from the bishop (Feb. 5. 1622.) to proceed with Gilbert's settlement; on which they came to this conclusion, "yat in regard of the op-

position made already by the peopill and in regard of the slander and contempt yat may be given in publick to the ministrie vrging the people to yield vnto y^t^ qlk no wayes they will do, that the mater be delayed to such opportunities as the arch B. may bespek." (Ib. from June 27, 1621, to February 5, 1622. *passim.)* The presentee, however, ultimately prevailed; for on the roll of members of Presbytery for the year 1624 is "Michael Gilbert min^r^ of Northbervick."

The consent of the people was signified in different ways. When it was proposed that John Davidson should be settled as minister of Saltpreston and the Pannis, "ane gritt multitude of the honest men of bayth the tounes foirsaids come and shew thair gude lyking of Mr Jhone and his doctrine to us of the presbyterie, (met at Tranent) desyring us maist earnestly wt ane voyce," &c.—"Thanks returned to my lord of Newbottle," whose concurrence in the settlement had been requested by the presbytery. (Ib. Oct. 29.—Dec. 24. 1595.) Oftener the consent of the congregation was reported to the presbytery by commissioners. The reader may be pleased to see the following copy of a formal written call, which is the earliest document of the kind that I have met with.

"Vnto zo^r^ godlie W. of the presbyterie of hadingtoun humlie menis and schawis we zo^r^ bretherne the pro^rs^ [parishioners] of Gullane w^t^ the speciall consent of our pastor Mr thomas makghe that q^r^as it hes pleisit God in the age infirmitie and oft^n^ diseisis of our said pastor to offer occasion of support to h[illegible] and to vs both be Mr Androw Makghe his sone off quhome we having had pruiff and tryall the twa zeiris bygane dois testifie his doctrine to be sound sensible & edifying his lyff and conversatioun to be honest and unrebukeable In respect q^r^of haueing guid expectatioun y^t^ he salbe ane profitable instrument amangis vs for advancement of goddis glorie and our awin salvatioun Hes w^t^ ane voyce thoucht expedient maist ernistlie to requeist zo^r^ wisdomes to proceid w^t^ that diligence zo^r^ w. sall think maist expedient to the admission and ordinatioun of the said Mr Andro to the office of ministerie within our congregatioun That being warrandit be ye outward calling

and authoritie of the kirk he may be answerabill to our said expectatioun in the synceir preaching of goddis word ministring of ye sacraments discipline and all vyer externall benefites of ye kirk according to the reull of the said word and commoun practise of the reformit kirk w^t^in yis cuntrey Unto quhome in the lord ane and all we promise fay^t^fullie our concurrance and obedience to the vttermost according to o^r^ dewtie And zo^r^ godlie w. answ^r^ humlie we beseich

Sic Subscribitur

Ro^t^ hepburne
Alex^r^ tod
Mr Mark Hepburne
George Dudgeoun
Andro Robesone
Williame Marsheall
Jhone sinclair

Mr thomas Makghe minister of gullane
George Ker
P Levingtoun of Saltcottis
Ro Congilton of that ilk
Walter Ker
George Halyburtoun
Daniel broun
Michael tod
James Sandilands
George Walker
George sseveis
Thomas Wilson

This is the mynd of the haill rest of the pro^rs^ y^t^ cannot subscryve as yai haue testifyit be yair consent quhen yair voittis wes requyrit desyring me notar vnderwritten to subscryve in yair names

Ita est Joannes Craik notarius publicus ad premissa quisitus testem his meis signo et subscriptione manualibus."

(Record of Presbytery of Haddington, Dec. 7. 1597.)

END OF THE FIRST VOLUME.

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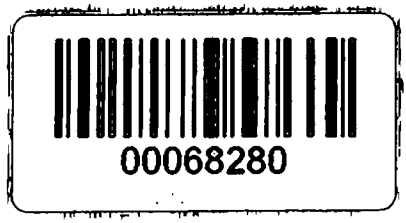
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